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THE JOURNAL

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British Archaeological Association.

APRIL 1854.

ON THE ANCIENT CAMPS OF THE UPPER WARD OF LANARKSHIRE.

BY GEORGE VERE IRVING, ESQ.

THE interesting paper by Mr. Just "On the Tenth Iter of Antoninus and the Roman Remains of the North of England" (see *Journal*, vol. viii, pp. 35-43), led me to direct my attention to the Roman roads and fortifications in the intramural province of Valentia. In this northern district the subject presents more difficulties than in the southern parts of the island. The most eminent antiquaries differ not only on the sites of the various stations, but even on the general direction of the iters. Roy, Chalmers, Stewart, have each a theory of his own, and inconsistent with those of the others. I had never the presumption to suppose that I should be able to solve a question which had puzzled such distinguished authors. My object was one of a more humble and limited nature. Mr. Just observes "that the mystery must be cleared up. The key is on the ground yet, which when found and taken up, and properly applied, will unlock the dungeon doors, and let the light of day into this labyrinth of obscurity." The necessity of an accurate and minute survey is therefore apparent; and what I proposed to effect was a personal examination of that portion of the province known as the upper ward of Lanarkshire, with which I happened to be intimately acquainted. I hoped by this means to give an accurate description of one portion of the lock, and thus to some extent facilitate the construction of a proper key.

The camps in the upper ward of Lanarkshire are very numerous, and generally in a good state of preserva-

tion, owing to the pastoral and mountainous character of the district. In describing them, I shall for the sake of convenience follow the line of the Roman roads which traverse it, and advert to each fortification as it would successively present itself to a person following these routes. At the same time, I beg it to be understood that I by no means intend to assert that all these fortifications are Roman camps. On the contrary, many of them are of British origin, while others may possibly be creations of a later period, erected for the concealment of cattle during the stormy times of border feud and English invasion. Few of them can, however, in my opinion, be referred to this latter class, as they are almost invariably situated on commanding positions, which although admirably fitted for posts of observation and the military occupation of the country, are by no means adapted for concealment, while for that purpose much more appropriate sites might have been found in the dells and glens among the hills.

The geographical direction of the rivers Annan and Clyde, and the comparatively low elevation of the heights which separate them in at least one of the passes near their source, seems to have pointed out the course of their vallies to the engineers of all ages as a line of communication between the north-west of England and the northern part of Scotland; for we find that it has been adopted, not only by the surveyors of the Caledonian railway in our own day, but by the Romans of old. This iter can be distinctly traced along its whole course; and I may mention, without entering into the details of its course beyond the district to which this paper strictly refers, that it proceeds from Carlisle to Dryffe church on the Annan, where it divides into two branches. The most easterly of these ascends that river till it reaches the camp of Tatiusholm, the Tassiesholm¹ of Roy (p. 104 and plate 8), which, being the last station in Dumfriesshire, we may consider our

¹ It may not be uninteresting to mention that this is the site of the anecdote of the well known antiquary sir John Clerk, which is stated by Lockhart, in his *Life of Scott*, chap. v, to have been the foundation of the incident in his *Antiquary*, "Prætorium here, prætorium there, I mind the bigging o't." The camp is undoubtedly Roman, and the amusing blunder arose from the endeavour to trace in its imperfect remains the complete details of the Polybian system of contrametation.

starting point. Leaving this, it continues along the Annan till that river is joined by its tributary the Evan. Crossing the latter, it ascends to the high ground on its right bank, along which, and bending to the left up the course of that stream, it proceeds till it enters the county of Lanark. This it does before reaching the summit, as several farms, though lying on the Dumfriesshire side of the height and belonging to that county in ecclesiastical matters, form *quoad civilia* part and portion of Lanarkshire; an anomaly which may be accounted for by their having at one time belonged to the powerful family of Douglas. From this point the iter will be found laid down on the plan, and distinguished by a continuous double line. (See plate 1.) On reaching the summit, it passes the almost insignificant elevation which here divides the Evan from a tributary of the Clyde, called *Clydes Burn*, which it crosses near the farmhouse of *Little Clyde*.

As some confusion appears to have arisen between these names, I may state that the former is the proper name of the stream, and that the latter is exclusively confined to the particular farm which occupies the upper part of its course.

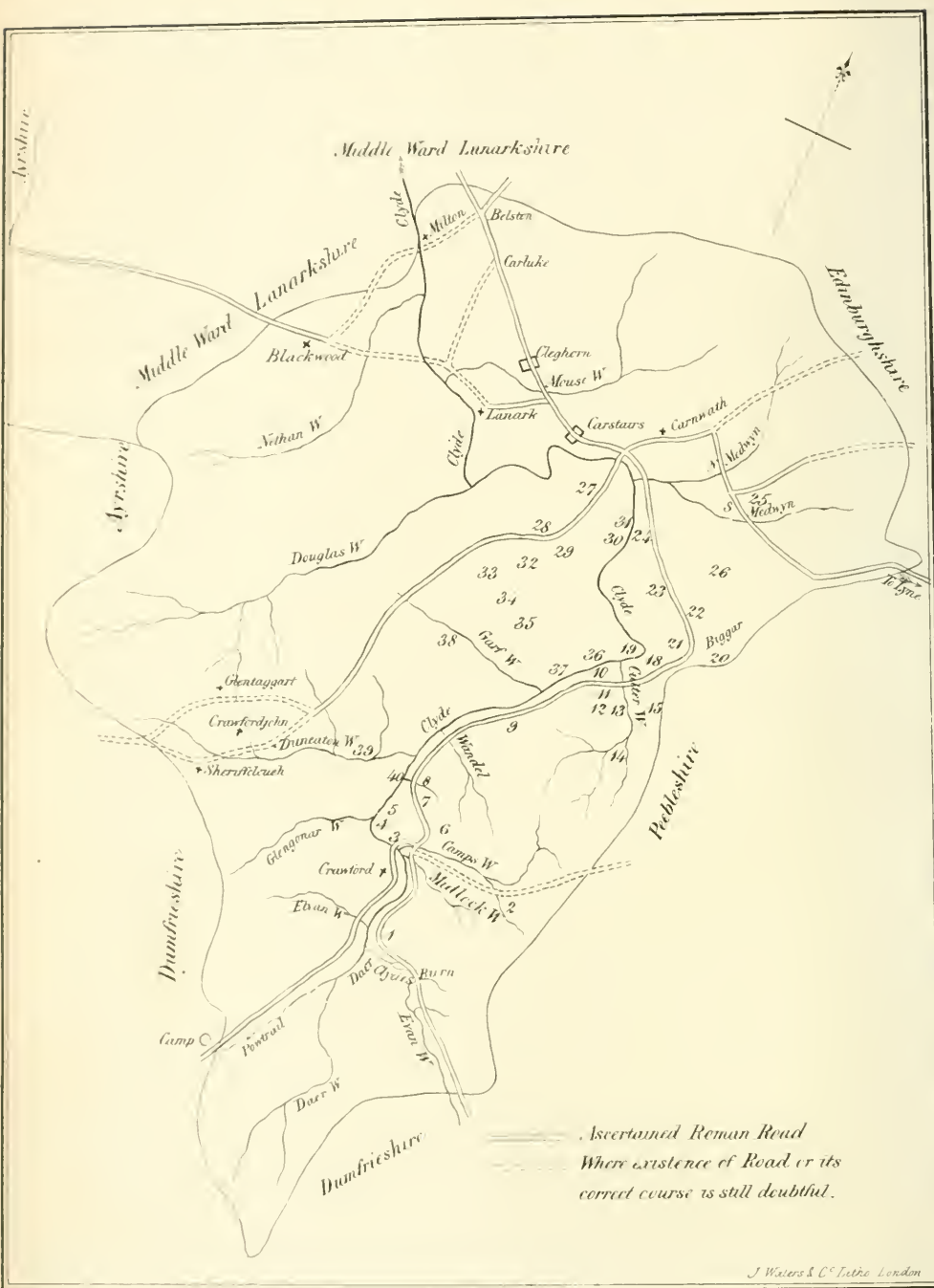
General Roy (p. 104), in tracing the course of this iter, states that "it falls in with the sources of the Clyde *at a place named Little Clyde, where there has been another square redoubt.*" Chalmers (vol. i, p. 120), mentions "*a Roman post, Little Clyde, on the track of the Roman road*", "which corresponds so exactly with the Damnian town on *Little Clyde.*" If we are to read these passages as asserting the existence of a Roman camp *on the farm of Little Clyde*, I am afraid that both the learned antiquaries have been misinformed, as I have not only been totally unable to trace the smallest vestige of an encampment in the vicinity of the small portion of the Roman road which passes through this farm, but I am informed by the tenant, whose family has been in possession of the land for several generations, that he never knew or heard of such a thing. If, on the other hand, we suppose that the words *Little Clyde* were used by mistake for *Clydes Burn*, these learned authors may refer to the camp I shall immediately describe, which may be said, though not with strict accuracy, to be situated on that stream.

I may also mention a fact with regard to Clydes Burn which is curious in an etymological point of view, viz., that until this stream joins the Clyde, that river is not called Clyde, but Daer, and only takes the former name below the point of junction, although the burn is so small that it can be crossed dry-footed in most weathers, and the river has already attained a breadth of at least thirty feet, and is of considerable depth.

Leaving Little Clyde, the Roman road descends the right bank of Clydes Burn till it approaches the foot of Bodsberry hill, when it begins gradually to ascend from the stream. This hill forms the last of the range of hills which here abut on the valley of the Clyde. It is comparatively isolated, being cut off from the others by a precipitous ravine. Most persons have supposed that the Roman road proceeded round the south side of this hill betwixt it and the Clyde, but this I am able to state positively is a mistake, and that it either passed through the ravine above-mentioned or crossed the top of the hill; and, I may add, that it may have taken both of the latter courses. The top of the hill forms a flat plateau of considerable extent, which is occupied by the first camp I have to describe. (No. 1,¹ and plate 2, fig. 1.) The whole of the plateau is occupied by the fortification, which consists of a single rampart. On the north-east side facing the ravine, and on the south and south-east above the Clyde the hill is so precipitous as to be inaccessible in a military point of view. At one part on the east the access, though still difficult, is of an easier nature, and here there is a gate through which the road must have entered if it crossed the hill. At the gate on the south-west the access is worse than at that last described, so much so, indeed, that one can hardly conceive what could be the use of a gate at that place; on the north and north-west, however, the hill slopes very gently, and we find that in consequence this quarter of the camp is defended by a second rampart and ditch. There are here gates through both intrenchments, and from them a Roman road can clearly and unequivocally be traced descending the hill. In the interior of the camp a draw well has been sunk,

¹ The numbers referred to throughout this paper will be found marked on plate 1, which presents a plan or map denoting the several localities of the camps.





which, from its position on the top of a hill of considerable elevation, is evidence of no small engineering skill. There are also two mounds, which will be found in the plan, but I am not prepared to say that they are artificial. As a military post, this is one of great strength and importance. It commands a most extensive view, not only of the course of the Clyde, but of the road into Annandale, and from the nature of the ground must have been almost impregnable before the invention of gunpowder. The camp is certainly not a rectangle, but of an irregular form, and from this it may be urged that it is not a Roman fortification. But I think this is clearly rebutted by the fact that an undoubted Roman road leads directly into it, and we must not forget that it occupies the whole of the plateau, and that the attempt to inscribe a rectangle within the latter would have destroyed the security of the camp; because had this been done, the extreme suddenness and steepness of the descent would have enabled a light-armed enemy to have established himself in a perfect and secure cover within a few feet of the base of the rampart. I have been told by one of my servants that, about twenty years ago, some stone dykers, employed by my father, found either on this hill or in its vicinity, a grave in which, to use the words of my informant, were contained "an auld swurd and the banes of a Christian". If so, they kept their discovery concealed; and there is now no possibility of recovering any of the arms or antiquities they may have found.

In connection with this camp, I may mention a most amusing instance of stupidity and ignorance, by which this fortification has been metamorphosed into a worthy and respected country gentleman. In Paterson's *Roads*, London, 1826, page 230, I find in the list of seats on the road from Carlisle to Glasgow the following entry: "Elvanfoot Inn before—*Bodsberry*, — *Camp*, *Esquire*".

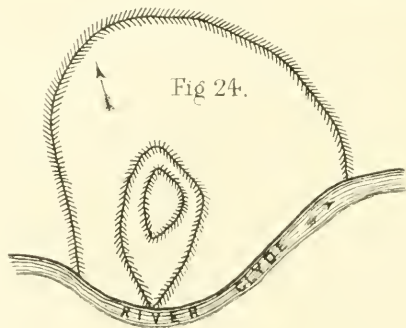
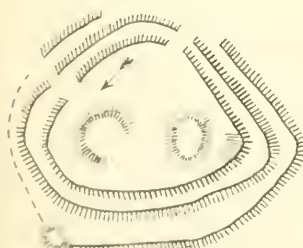
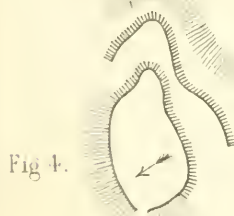
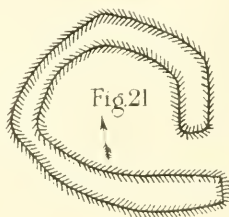
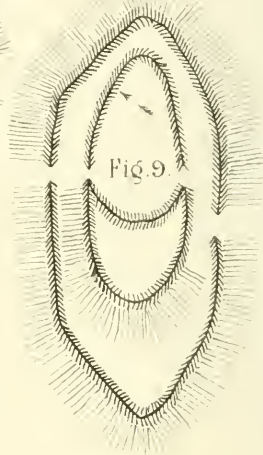
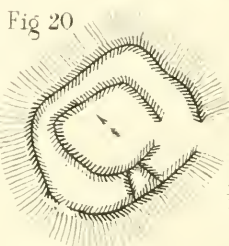
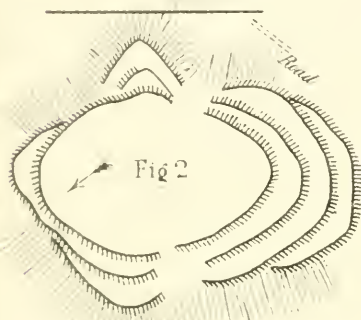
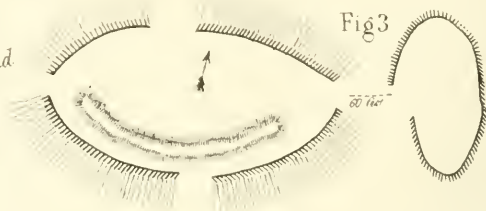
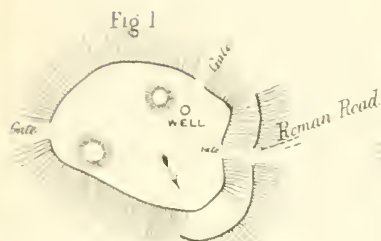
Descending from this hill the Roman road, clearly and distinctly marked, continues in a north-west direction along the right bank of the Clyde, at a little distance from that river. In the bed of the Shilling Cleuch Burn, one of the small tributaries which it crosses, a Roman camp kettle was found about forty years ago, but having been appropriated by the finder to domestic purposes, it has

long ago been lost sight of. The road continues in the same direction for about three miles, till after crossing the Midlock and Camp waters, it reaches the base of a hill which projects from the main range, and causes a considerable deflection in the course of the river. At this point, which is in the immediate vicinity of the castle of Crawford, it is rejoined by the branch which separated from it at Dryffe church in Dumfriesshire.

This branch, after crossing the country from the valley of the Annan to that of the Nith, ascends the latter river and its tributary the Carron, with its feeder the Durisdeer Burn, and enters Lanarkshire by the Wellpath. On the Dumfriesshire side of the pass, and not far from the top, there is a camp, the situation of which is marked on Plate 1. On entering the upper ward, it descends the left bank of the Potrail, the Daer, and the Clyde, which, however, may be considered as a continuation of the same river, till it arrives at the village of Crawford, where a portion of it is still known as Watling street. Here it crosses the river by the castle ford, and joins the other branch, as mentioned above.

It is highly probable that the road was here also joined by another branch from the upper part of Peebleshire. Although traces of this are found in several places, I have not been able accurately to trace its course; its general direction is, however, indicated by a double-dotted line. It follows the valley of the Camp till that stream separates into two branches, when it ascends to the high ground between them, and inclines to the left along the heights above that branch which is known as the Grains Burn. On the side of the hill immediately above the junction of the two streams, and on a sort of knob or prominence, a very strong and elaborately fortified camp is met with. (No. 2, and plate 2, fig. 2.) There is no water within the precincts of it, and the road passes to its right, but bends, as above stated, after passing it. About two miles further up the Grains Burn, and at the bottom of the glen which passes the shepherd's house on the farm of Crimp Cramp, a coin of Vespasian was found some years ago. This place is certainly not on the line of road, but it is by no means improbable that it may have been washed down from the vicinity of it.





Scale 200 ft to the Inch

Fig 11

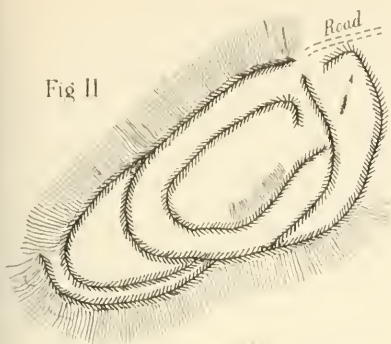


Fig 12



Fig 6



Fig 22

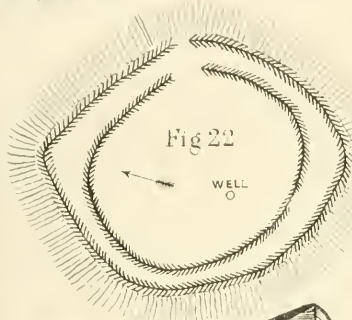


Fig 5

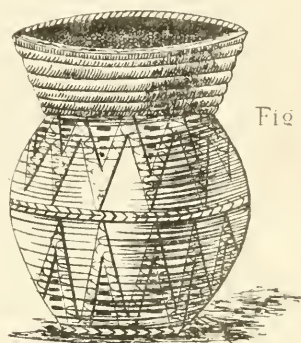


Fig 7



Fig 19

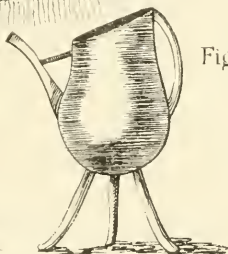


Fig 23



Fig 17



Fig 18



Fig 13

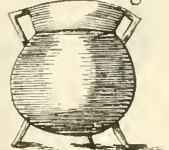


Fig 14



Fig 15

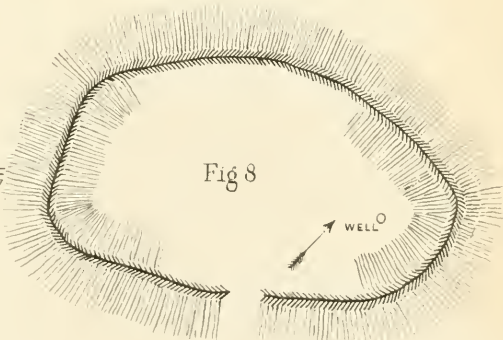


Fig 16



Roman Road

Fig 8



Roman Road

Scale of Camps 200 ft to the Inch



Overlooking the point near the castle of Crawford, where these three roads may be supposed to unite, we find another camp (No. 3), situated on a small spur of the hill, of a low elevation, and separated from the mass of the mountain by a very gentle hollow. It is only fortified by a single rampart which, on the south side looking towards the Clyde, is now very indistinct. It is an irregular oval of 349 feet by 120; and, like the last, is destitute of water.

From the point of junction the united road bends a little to the right till it reaches the mouth of the Raggen, or Ragged Gill, a pass of considerable elevation, which cuts off the projecting portion of the hill. Traversing this, it again descends to the banks of the Clyde, near the boundary of the parishes of Crawford and Lamington. Before tracing its progress through the latter parish, I may, however, complete the survey of the former by describing two camps which are situated on the side of the hill overlooking the Clyde. The first of these (No. 4, and plate 2, fig. 3) is within sight of the one last mentioned, and occupies one of a number of small knolls at the foot of the hill. It is remarkable from the small detached fortification on the west side, and also from the fact that on the north the ground in the interior rises abruptly much higher than the rampart. It does not possess the advantage of any supply of water within its precincts.

The second camp (No. 5, and plate 2, fig. 4) lies further round the hill, and is situated in a small cleft or corry about half way up the ascent. There is a faint trace of a second rampart at the upper part and on the south side, but the whole camp has been tampered with in search of stones for a march fence. There is a small and feeble spring at the apex of the second rampart, but as a military post this is certainly the least defensible I have met with, being completely commanded within easy arrow flight by the high ground which encircles it on the south and east. During the quarrying operations referred to, a small cairn was taken down, and beneath it two rude stone cists were found. One of these contained an urn in capital preservation, about half full of ashes and calcined bones. (Plate 3, fig. 5.) It is of a yellow earthenware, very slightly if at all glazed, and measures six

inches in height, five in diameter at the top, four and six-eighths at the bulge, and three at the bottom. The same pattern as at the bulge is repeated inside the top to the depth of half an inch. In the same cist, if not within the urn, were also found two spear heads and a bracelet of bronze; the latter especially being a splendid specimen of verd antique. The exterior surface is round, the interior flattened. Its internal diameter is two and three-eighths inches; the external, two and seven-eighths. These curious reliques are preserved in the interesting and extensive collection of the eminent local antiquary, Mr. Sim, of Cultermain, who has assisted me in the kindest and most obliging manner during the progress of my investigations.

In Lamington parish, opposite the mouth of the Raggen Gill, Arbory hill rises isolated in a conical form to the height of about 500 feet above the level of the Clyde. On its top is a circular fortification, formed by three concentric ramparts, with an interval of ten yards between them, the diameter of the interior being 264 feet. There is no well or other supply of water.

After entering the parish of Lamington, the Roman road continues to descend the right bank of the Clyde between that river and the hill. A short distance from the boundary of the parish, Forrest, in his map of Lanarkshire, places "the site of a Roman chapel." Of this saccellum I have been unable to find any trace; and although this map was published as late as 1813, I have not met with a single person who can recollect having observed anything of the kind.

Near the farmhouse of Coldchapel there are two camps, (Nos. 7 and 8) on the opposite sides of the Hawkwood Burn, from which they must have been supplied with water. The first is an irregular square, measuring diagonally 165 by 150 feet, situated on a small piece of level ground, and its rampart is in excellent preservation. The other is very irregular in form, measures 254 by 220 feet in its longest dimensions, is less distinctly marked, and lies on the first gentle rise of the hill. These camps appear to have been connected with another on the opposite bank of the Clyde, forming with it an equilateral triangle. This camp will be afterwards described. During the formation

of the Caledonian railway, a number of small urns were dug up near the farmhouse of Coldchapel. One of these (plate 3, fig. 6) is now in the possession of Mr. Sim. It is rudely formed of coarse yellow and unglazed earthenware. Its dimensions are: height, two inches; diameter at top, two and a half; at middle, two and five-eighths; and at bottom, one and a half inches. In an old map I find that this farm was sometimes called *Cat* chapel, which appears to denote that it had been the locality where some battle has been fought.

A little further on, the name *Causeway* house gives us, if we required it, another proof that we are on the line of a Roman road. In fact, this word in Scotland may be always considered as an indication of there having been an *iter* in the vicinity.

At Harthope hill, on the north side of Wandel Burn, Forrest lays down a camp in his map; and it is mentioned in the statistical account as "a ring of earth and stones, about twenty yards in diameter, supposed from its form to be the remains of a British camp. There is certainly an old green turf dyke at this place, without any regular shape, but from its whole appearance I am inclined to doubt its ever having been a camp at all, and should rather consider it the remains of an old sheep fold. I am also of opinion that several of the other camps mentioned in the statistical account of this parish may be considered apocryphal, *ex grege* those at Hartside and Braehead."

On the shoulder of Devonshaw hill, about half way from the top, there is a camp of an irregular form, measuring 330 by 251 feet (No. 9). There is no water in its immediate vicinity, but it commands a most extensive view both up and down the river.

A bronze jug or goblet (plate 3, fig. 7) was found on the farm of Loanhead in this parish, near the line of the Roman road which is here again known as Watling street, and also indicated by the use of the word Loan.

Almost at the northern extremity of the parish the Whitehill rises out of the alluvial land on the side of the river, and commands an extensive view. The remains of the camp (No. 10, and plate 3, fig. 8) are situated on the southern face of this hill. There is an appearance of an old well having been sunk near the north-east angle of

this camp. The hill continues to rise at this side above the camp, and there are some traces of either one or two more fortifications, but not so distinctly marked as to enable me to insert them in the plan.

From this camp the Roman road appears to have left the bank of the Clyde, and to have continued through the parish of Culter in a valley which is separated from that river by a range of hills of no great elevation. Shortly after its entry into this parish, it passes a place on the farm of Low Hangingshaw, called the Cat Craig or the Rock of the Battle. Several curious reliques have been found at this place, and now form a part of Mr. Sim's valuable collection. 1. A bronze dagger, similar to that engraved in Wilson's *Archæology of Scotland*, p. 264, but of larger dimensions, being eight inches long by two and a quarter broad. 2. The fragments of a number of rude urns. 3. Several granite querns or hand mills. These most probably were brought from a distance, granite not being one of the rocks of the district, which consist of greywache, green stone, amygdaloid, and porphyry. At Culter Park, a short distance further on, a bronze celt, similar to that in Wilson, p. 257, class VII, and also to that, fig. 1, plate 37, in the *Journal*, vol. viii, was found, and is now in Mr. Sim's possession.

At this point it is necessary to diverge from the line of the Roman road in order to embrace a series of camps in the valley of the Culter Water. The first of these (No. 11) is situated on the top of the hill which overlooks Culter Park on the south, and commands an extensive range of country. It has been but slightly fortified with a single rampart, which is now very much destroyed in places, and generally very faintly marked. It is an oval of 248 by 102 feet. A road communicating with this camp is quite perceptible on the south side of the hill leading in the direction of Culter Water.

The second (No. 12, and plate 2, fig. 9), occupies the top of the adjoining hill, on the opposite side of a small valley, but of greater elevation. It has been more strongly fortified, with two, and in some parts three, ramparts. Both these camps must have drawn their supply of water from a small stream in the valley between them. Descending from this camp to Culter Water, we find a third camp, (No. 13), on the slope of the hill, defended by a single en-

trenchment of an irregular form, measuring 153 and 128 feet at the two widest points, and supplied with water by a small streamlet which flows at a short distance from it. On the ridge which separates the Culter Water from Nisbet Burn, immediately outside the enclosures, on an eminence separated by a gentle hollow from the steep ascent of Culter Fell, there is a strongly fortified camp (No. 14, and plate 2, fig. 10), with no less than three ramparts, clearly and distinctly marked. There is a curious elevation at the north corner of the outer rampart, but whether this is artificial, or a natural feature of the ground, I am unable to determine. This camp, however, labours under the defect that it lies at a considerable distance from any water.

At about half a mile to the north-east of the farmhouse of Nisbet, there is a small isolated hill, or knoll. At the west the elevation is the highest, and the ascent the steepest and most abrupt, while towards the east the ground slopes gently away. On this hill is situated by far the most complicated series of fortifications I have met with.

No. 15, and plate 3, figs. 11, 12, represent the two camps into which these may be divided. That at the west is evidently the principal, and the most strongly entrenched. The arrangement of its gates is remarkable, being situated at a different point in each rampart, so that an enemy would be exposed in passing from one to the other. The smaller entrenchment was evidently intended to prevent a hostile party from establishing itself on the high ground to the east of the larger camp, which it might not be convenient to include in the circle of the entrenchment, but from which the garrison might receive much annoyance. This smaller camp occupies a small eminence, and must necessarily have been carried before an attack could have been made on the principal one from the east. A clearly marked road leads to these fortifications from the same direction, but cannot be traced beyond the limits of the hill itself, owing to the intervention of ploughed fields. The supply of water must have been derived from the small stream on the west of the larger fortification. These camps are known in the country by the name of

Cow or Kow castle. Mr. Sim was at first inclined to suppose that it had obtained this appellation from being a place of refuge for the cattle, but on further reflection thinks that it ought rather to be traced to the Scotch word, *kow*, the twigs of any shrub or plant cut and made into a bundle; thus we have the broom kow, so well known to every curler, the heather kow, *Cowden knowes*, etc. I completely agree with this latter explanation, more especially as the Scotch for cattle would not be cow, but kye.

The valley to the west of this Cow castle, though it now consists of good cultivated fields, was in the memory of man an impassable morass, in which a curious place of security had been constructed. As all trace of it has now disappeared, I copy the description given of it in the statistical account: "A mound of an oval shape, called the Green Knows, measuring about thirty yards by forty, rises about two or three feet above the surface of the surrounding bog. On penetrating into this elevated mass, it is found to consist of stones of all different kinds and sizes, which seem to have been tumbled promiscuously together without the least attempt at arrangement. Driven quite through this superincumbent mass are a number of piles, sharpened at the point, about three feet long, made of oak of the hardest kind, retaining the marks of the hatchet, and still wonderfully fresh. A causeway of large stones connects this mound with the firm ground. All around it is nothing but soft elastic moss, and beneath it too, for on cutting through the bed of stones, you immediately meet with the moss. Near the spot are the remains of some very large trees, and the whole morass may have been at one time a wood."

Chalmers (p. 154) states, that "near the Roman road, and between it and Culter Water, opposite to Nisbet, there is an undoubted remains of a Roman construction, square in its form and capacious in its contents." If this does not refer to the camp No. 12, there can be no doubt that it never existed at all; but I may at once state that Chalmers is not to be depended upon, and that his information as to the shape and size of the camps in this district appears to be exclusively taken from Ross's old and inaccurate map of Lanarkshire.

From the Cat Craig the Roman road proceeds in the

direction of Biggar, and about a mile after it has crossed Culter Water, we find a camp (No. 18) on the top of the hill which intervenes between it and the Clyde. There is no water near it, and being situated in a plantation, the rampart and ditch are not easily traced. It appears, however, to have been a rhomboid of 190 by 164 feet. On the bank of the river at Wolf Clyde, there is a moat or tumulus about twenty feet high and thirty in diameter. There is also a camp (No. 19) on the flat holm on the opposite side of the river, but the greater part of its rampart has been destroyed by the plough.

Near the boundary of the parishes of Culter and Biggar we find on the line of the Roman road the house of *Causeway end*, a most appropriate name, as the Iter would here enter what was till lately the almost impassable morass of Biggar Bog. Through this it must have been impossible to carry a solid causeway, and this portion of the road was most probably constructed of wood. A local legend is a strong proof of this. It avers that sir William Wallace entered into a compact with the Evil One, one condition of which was, that he became bound to furnish his satanic majesty with work. The first task was to cut a pass through the Sandyhill between Biggar and Edinburgh. This was accomplished in a single night, and a remarkable hill in the parish of Dolphington is still pointed out as being formed by the riddling of the earth from the excavation. The second labour assigned was that of constructing a road through Biggar Moss; but this was also achieved. The third was the formation of a rope of sea-sand, which the arch fiend has as yet failed in doing; the small animal formations resembling pieces of string, which are so common on many of our shores, are said to be the result of his unsuccessful efforts.

In the parish of Biggar, about a quarter of a mile to the right of the road at Causeway end, we find a camp (No. 20), part of which has been destroyed by the road, and the rest is a good deal obliterated, being under a crop of potatoes when I visited it. There is no sign of any entrenchment in the field on the other side of the road. Its largest dimensions are 272 and 168 feet respectively. There is a small stream at no great distance.

On reaching the village of Biggar the road passes the

remarkable construction called the Moat (No. 20). General Roy, page 104, states that Roman coins have been found here, and pronounces it to be one of their camps. From this opinion I am, however, inclined to dissent, as I find no traces of rampart, fosse, or gate. It is simply an artificial mound, about thirty feet high, with a smooth and perfectly level top, of a rectangular form, measuring ninety-one feet by fifty. A gold coin of Vespasian was found a few years since at a little distance from this, at the Cross Knowe; and there is a remarkable narrow stone bridge over Biggar Water, called the Cadger's Brig, which name it owes to the tradition that sir William Wallace defended it single-handed, after having visited the English camp disguised in that character.

Before leaving this district I may mention a number of antiquities which have been found in the neighbourhood. The bronze caldron (plate 3, fig. 13), was found at Pyet Knowe; and another (plate 3, fig. 14) in Skirling Moss. They are drawn of one sixteenth their natural size. Both these places are in the county of Peebles; but at a very short distance from the boundary of the counties. A bronze axe, six inches long by two and three-quarters broad, was found on the farm of Winter Muir, in the parish of Biggar, below a cairn of stones. These three articles are now in the collection of Mr. Sim. A similar axe was found in Hartree bog, in Peebleshire, but a very short distance from the boundary, and is now in the possession of the proprietor, David Dickson, esq. Two palstaves, six inches and a half long, and similar to that engraved by Wilson (p. 257, Cl. v), have been found on the Aik Brae, on the farm of Goslands, in Kilbucho parish, but not more than 100 yards beyond the march of Lanarkshire. One of these is in the possession of the farmer, the other in that of the rev. Mr. Paul of Broughton.

This is also the proper place to observe, that unavoidable circumstances have prevented me from completing the survey of a small strip of Lanarkshire in this neighbourhood. It consists of the parish of Dolphington, and part of that of Biggar, the drainage of which flows into the Tweed. I hope, however, to be able to investigate this district in the course of the next summer. From the information I have received, I believe that this survey will prove not

only interesting in itself, but more especially so from its connexion with the great Roman camp at Lyne in Peebleshire. In fact I may state, that if it shall be found, in spite of the doubts of the learned secretary of the Scottish Antiquaries, and the verdict of the Quarterly Review, pronouncing it a clumsy and impudent forgery, that the book of Richard of Cirencester is to be considered an authority, I am convinced that it is in this district, and not on Gala Water, that we must seek the solution of the great *crux* of the fifth and tenth Iters of that monkish topographer. As, however, the object of the present paper is to detail facts, not promulgate theories, I refrain from enlarging on this subject.

From the moat at Biggar, the road we have been tracing bends to the left, up the course of Biggar Burn. To the right this valley is commanded by Bizzzy-Berry, a steep hill of considerable elevation, the summit of which is occupied by the camp (No. 22). Beside the principal entrenchment, which is a round oval of 185 and 135 feet in diameter, there were, I found, some faint traces of out-works, but these were so ill-defined that it was impossible to discover their exact course. The situation of this camp is a commanding one, and there is a most extensive view from its ramparts, including the course of the Roman road for many miles; but as a military post it is open to the great objection, that as there is no trace of any well, water could not be procured except at the foot of the hill. On a small knoll on the lands of Biggar Shields, four large stones are met with, apparently part of a Druidical circle. Numerous arrow-heads of flint have been found near them, several of which are in Mr. Sim's collection. A little further up the valley, in a moss at Carwood, two bronze vessels were found. One of these is represented, through the kindness of Mr. Sim, in whose possession it is, (plate 3, fig. 15) of one-sixteenth its actual dimensions. The other was at one time in the hands of Mr. Brown of Edmonston, but I have been unable to discover its present custodier. It is described in the statistical account as holding two quarts, with a handle and three legs.

From Carwood the Roman road proceeds in the direction of the village of Liberton, and traverses the wide expanse of the muir of the same name. At Whitcastle, at

a short distance to its left, there is a small hill, and on the top of it the camp (No. 23), the rampart of which is not easily traced, owing to the hill having been planted. It appears to have been an oval of 181 by 128 feet. The farmer told me that he had heard of some weapons having been found there. A little further on, and to the right of the road, Forrest lays down another camp at Cauldshoulers. I was accidentally prevented visiting this; but my relative, Mr. Chancellor, of Shieldhill, informed me that he was well acquainted with it, and that it consisted of a circular mound or dyke, about 100 to 120 feet in diameter, which he was inclined to consider the remains of an old sheepfold. On approaching the village of Liberton, we find a most perfect circular fortress (No. 24), a little to the left of the road, defended by two distinct entrenchments, which are even now of considerable height. It is a perfect circle, the diameter of the inner rampart being 248 feet. It has only one gate, which faces the east. At the time I visited it its interior was full of water; and I learned that it had been used as a curling pond, so that water must have been procurable, if not within its precincts, at least at no great distance. Its military position is one of importance, and the selection of its site shows considerable skill; looking down from the top of a steep bank over an extensive holm, and commanding the fords of the Clyde, while it is faced on the opposite side by the forts, called the Covington Rings (Nos. 30 and 31), which I shall afterwards describe.

On the track of the Iter, not far from this camp, the bronze kettle (plate 3, fig. 16) was found; which, like the others in Mr. Sim's collection, is represented of one-sixteenth its actual size.

From the village of Liberton the road keeps along the high ground which skirts the holms on the right bank of the Clyde, till it meets with the stream of the Medwin, which it crosses at the ford below the farmhouse of the Bank. Here, two most curious reliques have been found, which are both in the possession of Mr. Sim. The first is a small bronze figure of a male animal, apparently a bull or calf. It is the only instance I could hear of such a figure being met with in the upper ward, and I am happy to say is in fine preservation. It is about two inches long.

The other is a beautiful bronze fibula, or brooch, in fine preservation. It is made in the form of a harp, with the tongue representing the string (plate 3, figs. 17 and 18, are drawings of it, of one-fourth the actual size). A similar fibula, evidently of Roman origin, is figured by Stewart, in his *Caledonia Romana*, from the Andersonian museum of Glasgow. It was found between Kilpatrick and Duntock, on the line of the northern wall. It, however, had been ornamented with pieces of coloured glass, set in little square sockets on its outer edge, which are not met with in the present instance.

From the Bank the Iter bends round the remarkable turn taken here by the Clyde, and continues along the right bank of that river till it enters the large and undoubted Roman station of Castledykes, or Carstairs. The progress of modern improvement has, I am sorry to say, rendered the attempt to trace the boundaries of this fortification no longer practicable, but luckily it has been already surveyed by general Roy, who has not only given us a full description of it in his well known work, but has preserved an accurate plan of it in plate 27. A short distance from it the remains of a Roman bath have been discovered, and numerous antiquities, such as pots, dishes, instruments of war and sacrifice, and coins of M. Aurelius, M. Antoninus, and Trajanus Imperator; but these have been so widely scattered that it is impossible to discover their present resting place, although it is believed that several are contained in the collections of the Scottish Society of Antiquaries and of the university of Glasgow.¹

From Castledykes the road leaves the Clyde, and bends to the right. Before reaching the Mouse, a tributary of the Clyde, it passes through a corner of Lanark muir, where we learn from Roy that a small Roman camp once existed. I found a perfect tradition of this fact; but the place has been so altered in the progress of cultivation that I could find no one who was able to point out its exact site, while all agreed that no portion of it could now be distinguished or traced. At this point it appears that a branch diverged to the left in the direction of Lanark. Frequent traces of it have been met with in the vicinity of

¹ A number of these coins are in the possession of Mr. Monteith, of Carstairs.



Stanmore house, near which some years ago was discovered a square stone coffin, the sides and top of which were all formed, not of one, but several flat stones. It contained the fragments of an earthenware urn.

Tradition asserts that there was a Roman camp on the Castle hill at Lanark; but the place has been so altered by succeeding erections, both in feudal and more modern times, that it is now impossible to arrive at any conclusion from even the strictest examination. A fine silver Faustina was certainly found there, as mentioned by General Roy.

Many antiquaries have conjectured that this branch or vicinal road, after leaving Lanark, crossed the Clyde, and descending its left bank, terminated near Port Glasgow; but if this were true, we should undoubtedly have met with frequent traces of it in the vicinity of the river between Lanark and Hamilton; and I can safely say that no vestiges of the kind exist, or have ever been discovered. I am, therefore, inclined to adopt the views of those who give another direction to this road. According to them, it proceeded from Lanark through Nempfar muir, and after crossing the Clyde, ascended Stonebyres hill. It then passed the river Nethan, and was carried to Blackwood in Lesmahagow, where we again meet with a clear and undoubted Roman road, proceeding westward through the middle ward parishes of Stonehouse and Strathaven into Ayrshire. In support of this line, I may observe that if you do not adopt it, or another conjectural line I shall allude to afterwards, you meet with the absurdity of an undoubted Roman road coming from the west and stopping at Blackwood, where there is no camp or station. We must, therefore, seek for a prolongation of it eastward, and this can only be by one or other, or perhaps both, the routes I have indicated. I have marked the part of the road which is not definitely ascertained with a dotted line on the plan.

A Roman vase in the museum of the Glasgow university, and several coins, are stated in the statistical account to have been found in the parish of Lesmahagow, but the exact locality has not been given. A stone axe, or celt, was however found near Blackwood, and is now in the possession of the proprietor, Mr. Hope Vere.

From the division of the two roads at Staunmore, the

main branch proceeds in a north-western direction till it reaches the Mouse, which it crosses near Cleghorn mill. A few hundred yards to its right, we here find a very large and important Roman station. It measures 600 yards in length by 420 in breadth, and at the south-western angle has a small redoubt or *place d'armes*. It has six gates. It is still in fair preservation; but as it has been most amply described by general Roy, who considers it a post of Agricola, and as he has given an engraving of it in plate 9, I have thought it unnecessary to construct a new plan, and will content myself by referring the members of the Association to the work of that learned antiquary for a further account of it.

On the banks of the Mouse, about 250 or 300 yards from this encampment, three stone coffins were lately found. Through the kindness of Mr. Elliot Lockhart, M.P., I am enabled to furnish the Association with a description of the locality. The coffins were found on the brink of a steep bank, about twenty feet high, at the side of and not under a small cairn. The largest was six feet and a half long; the other two, about three feet and a half square. Each of the sides, as well as the lid, was formed, not of one, but of several thin flat stones, which seem to have been taken out of the river, as they had the appearance of being water worn. There were a number of pieces of charred wood lying near them. In the centre of one of the smaller coffins, protected by a circular wall of small stones, with a thin flag serving as a lid, an earthenware urn was found, about five or six inches in height, and apparently formed on a lathe. It is now in the possession of Mr. Lithgow, Stanmore house, but has unfortunately been broken in two.

From Cleghorn the Roman road continues in a north-west direction, through the parish of Carluke, by Kilcadzow, Coldstream, Yieldshields, and Dyke, to Belston, where it separates into two branches, which pass by Castle hill and Hyndshaw, into the Middle Ward. These may be considered as the commencement of the great reticulation of roads connected with the stations on the northern wall. At Dyke we find a portion of this road, which is known as Watling Street, in great preservation, and protected by a mound which runs along its north-east side. Many an-

tiquities have been found in the vicinity of the iter, in different places in the parish of Carluke. Roman gold coins have been picked up both at Burn head and Castle hill. A copper Commodus and a silver Faustina were lately found at Belston. A flint hatchet was turned up by the plough at Crawford wells, on the 18th June 1849. Another, smaller and less perfect was found, in 1851, at Stone green, which is now part of the same farm. Both of these are in the possession of Mr. Lockhart, of Milton Lockhart, the member for the county. Several of the pipes with remarkably small heads, generally called elfin pipes, have also been found. These were probably used for smoking some narcotic, in the same way as we now employ tobacco. At Carney Mount, about a quarter of a mile west of the Roman road, and also at Law, several coffins have been found, each formed of six flag-stones, containing ashes, and occasionally, at both places, rude urns full of ashes.

In the statistical account, it is stated that a Roman road passed from Lanark across the bridge of the Mouse, beneath Cartland Craigs, through Lee valley, across Fidler's Burn, at Chapel, and thence by Braidwood into the main street of the village of Carluke. I have been unable to ascertain the existence of any authority for this supposition, or of any vestige of such a road. Besides, I must candidly own that I cannot see any important end that would have been gained by its formation. Its supposed course is marked on the plan by a dotted line.

At Milton Lockhart, exactly at the spot where Mr. Lockhart has lately constructed an elegant bridge over the Clyde, we find most curious evidence of the existence of an ancient wooden construction of the same kind. In the rock which here forms the bed of the river, a series of square holes have been cut, about a foot deep, and nine inches in length by six in breadth. Being arranged in pairs, it is evident that they have been intended to receive the ends of the beams on which the bridge was supported. The site chosen for this bridge, and the manner in which it is carried obliquely across the river, so as to present the least obstacle to the direction of the current produced by the bend of the stream, afford evidence of no small engineering skill. On the opposite side of the river, on the

farm of Dalpatrick, there was found in the year 1833, under a small cairn, an ordinary Roman earthenware lamp, four inches and five-eighths in diameter, which is now in possession of Mr. Lockhart. From other reasons I had suspected the probable existence of a road from that already described as still existing at Blackwood, in Lesmahagow, to the great south and north iter, at Belston in Carlisle, which would afford a direct communication from Ayrshire with the stations on the wall of Antoninus. As both the spot where the lamp was found and the bridge at Milton Lockhart, are exactly in the natural line of this supposed road, which is marked on the plan by a dotted line, I am inclined to consider them as corroborative evidence in favour of the conjecture.

Having now completed the description of the great Roman road, which traverses the upper ward from north to south, and the camps in its vicinity, I have to direct attention to another road, which intersects it not far from the station at Carstairs. That it is also of Roman origin, is proved not only by its appearance where it is still perfect, but by the fact that it is known through its whole course as the *Drove Loan*. It is marked on the plan by a continuous double line. Its general direction is from west to east, and it appears to have formed the mode of communication between the upper part of Ayrshire and the stations on the east coast of the island. It will, however, be found more convenient if I divide it into portions, and, starting at the point where it crosses the Clyde, describe first the eastern and afterwards the western part of its course.

This point is at the Black Pot Ford, about two miles above the station at Carstairs; but it is proper to mention that, owing to the depth of the water opposite to that encampment, this is the nearest point to it where the river could be crossed by fording. Proceeding eastward from this it intersects the former iter, on the farm of Lampits, and, leaving the village of Carnwath on the left, goes on to Greenattan, where it divides into two branches. At the west end of the village of Carnwath is a remarkable cairn, or moat. It is of considerable height, somewhat elliptical in form, the diameter from east to west being longer than from south to north. There is a hollow on

the top, and tradition asserts that there was a rude stair which descended to the bottom. It is surrounded by a deep ditch, and large mound. Various purposes have been assigned to this erection, some holding it to be a burying-place, others a fortress, while the Sommerville papers assert its formation to have been a sign of feudal homage; for, after stating that the first baron Somerville, "during all the days of his life, was a constant follower of king Robert Bruce, and an adherer to his son king David's interest, when it was in a most desperate condition", they proceed: "Witnes his casting up a quantitie of earth of his lands upon the south-west of Carnwath towne, which makeing a little hill, 'tis called yet *omnis terra*. This was the custome of these tymes, by which homage they that held the king of Scotland supreme under God, wer distinguished from the Baliol party, or such as owed any homage to the king of England."¹

From Greenattan the left branch of the Drove Loan proceeds straight forward through Carnwath Muir, till it enters the county of Edinburgh. There are no camps on this line, and I have not heard of the discovery of any antiquities.

The other branch turns sharp to the right through Kerswell. Here a bronze palstave was found some years ago. It is almost of the same dimensions and similar in form, with the exception that it has no holes at the top, to the one engraved by Wilson, at page 254 of his work. It is now in Mr. Sim's collection. On reaching Newbigging Muir this road again splits into two. One of these makes a considerable bend to the left, and passes either through or close by the south side of the camp (No. 25), which is an irregular oval, of 267 by 215 feet, with an additional rampart on the east, extending to a distance of 150 feet. It is in very good preservation, with the exception of a portion of the additional entrenchment, which is of a slighter construction than the main body of the fortification. It is situated on the top of a gentle eminence, and has no water in its immediate neighbourhood. From this point the road continues along the slope of the hills on the

¹ Could we implicitly depend on this statement, it might throw some light on the origin of the moat at Biggar formerly described, for Bruce had no stauncher adherents than the Flemings.

right bank of the South Medwyn, till it reaches the head of Dunsyre valley, from which it passes through the flat muirs at the head of the West water into Peebleshire, in the direction of Linton. At one part of its course we meet with the house of Loan End, which appears to have received its name from the same cause as the Causeway End, near Biggar, viz. the road having to pass through a deep morass, where it was impossible to construct a solid causeway. In the statistical account of the parish a number of urns are stated to have been found along the line of this road, and one is more particularly specified as being "about six inches in diameter, composed of burnt clay, and rudely carved over. Its under part is narrow, of the shape of the human heart, and projects from the depth of seven inches, about two and a half towards the mouth." Unfortunately neither the locality of discovery nor the name of the possessor are given, and the gentleman who compiled the account no longer residing in the district, I have been unable to trace any of these reliques. The whole of the flat muirs towards the head of both branches of the Medwyn are, however, full of cairns and Druidical circles. Some years ago a shepherd, poking with a stick in the sand, turned up a most perfect specimen of the ornament of the Arch-Druid, which he gave to Mr. Sim. It consists of an egg-shaped piece of fluor spar, about the size of that of a small fowl, with a twisted gold ring, inserted in the larger end by a small loop, which allows it to play freely, and by this it was probably suspended round the neck.

The other branch, which we left in Newbigging Muir, after making a slight sweep to the right, and crossing the South Medwyn, pursues a direction almost due east, till it reaches the boundary of Peebleshire at Corsincon. It then bends sharply to the left, and forms for some distance the march of the counties; after which it finally takes leave of Lanarkshire, proceeding by Newland's Bridge End, in the direction of the Roman camp at Lyne. Stone coffins have been found in the vicinity of this road, and there is in Mr. Sim's collection a bronze axe head, which was found near its course, but in Peebleshire, near Newlands. It is very similar in shape to that engraved by Wilson, p. 253, class iii; but it is destitute of ornament, and has a hole in it, apparently for the purpose of

fixing the handle. Between this road and the north and south iter, already described, we find a small isolated hill called the Cocklaw, on the top of which is situated the circular camp (No. 26), of 200 feet diameter, which possesses no supply of water, except from a considerable distance. It is stated in the statistical account that it was fortified by a second rampart, five yards beyond the first. This, however, is an error, but one which I have found not uncommon with different persons who accompanied me in surveying these camps, and arises from mistaking the counterscarp of the ditch, especially on rising ground, for a second entrenchment. At the foot of the Cocklaw lies the farm of Boreland, on which was found the bronze tripod (plate 3, fig. 19) now in the collection of Mr. Sim. It is ten inches in height, with a diameter of four inches and six-eighths at the widest part, and three and a quarter at the top. On Hyndshiellend, the next farm, a stone coffin was lately discovered, containing an urn, which, however, crumbled away on being exposed to the air. Several stone celts have been found in the parish of Walston, but I have not been able to ascertain the exact localities.

Having now completed the survey of the various branches of the eastern portion of the Drove Loan, I return to the point where it crosses the Clyde, with the view of tracing its course westward. Leaving the Black Pot ford, it passes through the lower part of the parish of Pettinain, and not far from the village of that name. It then ascends the hill above Westraw house. At the point at which it crosses the crest of the ridge, I observed a small circle exactly like a miniature camp, being only about six yards in diameter, but with a regular gate. Not being aware at the moment that I was on the exact track of the Drove Loan, I was a good deal puzzled with this construction. Its small size seemed to negative the idea of a camp. It might certainly have been a sheep stell, but on the other hand it was in a most unusual position for such an erection. Subsequent consideration leads me to suggest that it may have been a look-out post, or the *corps de garde* of an outlying vidette connected with the large camp which I shall immediately describe; and this idea is confirmed by the fact that the next camp to which I shall allude, and another in the vicinity, are currently denominated "*out-posts*".

On the top of the highest elevation of the hill, which lies a short distance to the right of the point where the Drove Loan crosses, the remarkable fortification, known as the Cairn Grife outpost (No. 27, and plate 2, fig. 20), is situated. Its two ramparts are entirely composed of an enormous collection of rough loose stones, of which at least a thousand cartloads have been collected together. The two small walls which connect the outer and inner ramparts on the south side are curious. There is no water in the vicinity; but this may have been of less consequence if it was only used as an outpost to the next camp. It commands a most extensive view. A sheep stell has been constructed in the centre out of the materials of the walls, and as this is fully as unsuitable a spot as the one mentioned above, this may appear to militate against the conjecture there hazarded. I, however, think that this may be explained by the facility afforded by the stones being already collected, which suggested the idea of turning them to a useful purpose, although the site is not one which would have been selected under ordinary circumstances.

Descending from the hill, the Drove Loan leads directly to a large camp situated by the side of a moss in the valley, near the farm of Knowe Head. This is the most extensive fortification I have met with excepting those at Carstairs and Cleghorn. It is defended by a single elliptical rampart, of 890 and 866 feet in diameter, composed of loose stones and earth, which must have been of considerable size. It is abundantly supplied with water from some excellent springs within its boundaries. Some urns were found many years ago below the wall of this camp. They were each of them enclosed within four coarse flagstones set on edge, and covered with one laid flat. The enclosed space was filled to a considerable depth with a fine white sand, among which the urn was standing in an inverted position. On removing the urn, something of a soft slimy nature was found on the sand. Within the moss, a short distance to the east of the camp, there is a small round enclosure, containing about a rood of ground, which appears to have been connected with the main fortification by a causeway.

On the crest of Swaites hill, which overlooks this camp

on the east, I found the fortification (No. 29), protected by a single nearly circular rampart, of 170 feet diameter, and destitute of any supply of water. A short distance to the north of this is a remarkable tumulus of loose stones, known as the Hero's Cairn; a great part of its materials have, however, been removed. I am informed that a large urn, surrounded by five small ones, the whole included in a stone coffin, was once found under it.

On the side of the Clyde, in a straight line between this point and the camp (No. 24), at Libberton village, lie the camps (Nos. 30 and 31), already alluded to as the Covington Rings. The first (plate 2, fig. 21) is situated on the top of the gentle bank which here rises from the river, and has been slightly injured. The other is halfway down the slope, and has been so often ploughed, that its form can scarcely be traced; but it appears to have been a lopsided oval of 143 and 120 feet diameter. A number of large stones have been taken out of the rampart. Both of these camps must have derived their supply of water from a small stream which flows a short distance to the north. I also learned from Mr. Arch. Stoddart, the very intelligent tenant of the farm, that at one time another camp could be traced on the south side of the house of Hillhead, which is now obliterated. A short time ago he found two querns, or hand-mills, on the spot which had been turned up by the plough, which are now in the possession of Lady Macdonald Lockhart, of Lee.

Proceeding southward along Swaites hill from the Hero's Cairn, we enter the farm of Warrenhill, where six urns were some years ago found when cutting a drain which passed through a small cairn or tumulus. They were of very rude manufacture, apparently moulded by the hand. On the elevation which forms the termination of this range of hill, we find the Chesters outpost (No. 32), overlooking the great flat basin which stretches up the Clyde as far as Culter, a distance of some miles. It is defended by a single well defined rampart with two gates, and is of irregular form, its largest transverse dimensions being respectively 300 and 277 feet. There is no supply of water in the immediate vicinity, which may, perhaps, have been overlooked in consequence of its auxiliary character of an outpost.

Before returning to the Drove Loan, it may be as well that I should describe a set of camps on the opposite side of the basin above referred to, which I have been unable to connect with any line of road. No. 33 is on the north-eastern face of Tinto, a little way above the base of that hill, and is defended by two well defined circular ramparts, twenty-six feet apart, the diameter of the inner one being 180 feet. They are unusually high, and traversed by two distinct gates. This camp, however, possesses a remarkable and unique feature, in an interior ring, twenty-five feet from the inner entrenchment. It is only about two feet high, and is perfectly continuous, without any gate or opening. It is difficult to see what the purpose of this small mound can have been, unless we conjecture that it was used in the same way as the modern banquettes, and that the archers and slingers were posted on its top, thus commanding a better view over the exterior defences. Its supply of water must have been derived from a small streamlet which descends the hill about two hundred yards to the east. Not far from this, some bones of a human body, but not the skull, were found a few years ago in a small tumulus. As the grave was shorter than the ordinary dimensions, it was supposed that the body had been decapitated. About a quarter of a mile to the north, another tumulus was opened about the same time, and in it were found two urns. One of these was broken by the workmen; the other is in the possession of Mr. Thomson Carmichael, of Eastend.

A little further round the hill in the direction of the Clyde, the top of a small protuberance is occupied by a Druidical circle (No. 34), consisting of two irregular rows of double stones. These are portions of the ordinary rock of the district, rough as they came from the quarry, and of no very great size. On the spur of the mountain which overlooks St. John's kirk, we find a camp (No. 35), which has been so much destroyed, both by the plough and by the construction of the fence of the plantation in which it is situated, that its original form cannot be determined. There is no water in the vicinity. Further on we find two camps in Symington parish, opposite to the one (No. 10) on the White hill in Lamington parish. One of these (No. 36) is on the top of the small elevation, called the Castle hill. Being in a plantation, the exact limit of

its rampart can hardly be traced in some places, but seems to have been an irregular circle, and its supply of water must have been brought from some distance. The other (No. 37) is on the bank of a small stream on the farm of Westside. Having been frequently ploughed over, the general outline of its form can only be distinguished, but it appears to have been also circular. The farmer informed me that he found ploughing the ramparts a tough job, but that he turned up no stones, and found them composed of earth only.

Leaving the large camp at Knowe Head, the Drove Loan crosses Carmichael hill to the church of that parish, from which point it passes behind Tinto, and keeps along the high ground between Douglas Water and the Clyde till within a short distance of the village of Crawfordjohn, which lies on the Duneaton, another tributary of that river. In Carmichael parish, at a considerable distance to the right of the road, near a bridge over Douglas Water, a large stone coffin, constructed of sandstone, was found, but it was entirely empty. At Stone hill, on the same side, but nearer the road, two gold rings or clasps were dug up some years ago, weighing together no less than twenty-nine sovereigns. I am informed that the gold is very pure, but the workmanship of a low class. They are in possession of Lord Douglas of Douglas, and I hope at some future time to be able to produce a drawing of them to the Association. On Lionside hill, near the head of Ponfeigh Burn, and a little to the right of the road, we meet with another camp. I am unable to produce a plan of this fortification, but have, through the kindness of a friend, been furnished with the following description; "The place was pointed out to me as the camp, which name it still bears, by the people in its neighbourhood, but not a vestige of it remains, as the foundation stones were dug up many years ago to furnish materials for a stone dyke. I could, however, distinguish a circular hollow round the mount, which I supposed would be made by the removing of the foundation. The diameter of this circle I found to measure exactly fifty feet to the outside of the hollow. The hollow itself measured about five feet in breadth, so that, if it represented the thickness of the wall, the inner diameter must have been about forty feet."

About a mile and a half on the other side of the Drove Loan, on a hill in Garf Water, we find the camp (No 38 and plate 3, fig. 22) occupying the flat plateau at the top. It has only one gate, but is provided with one of those remarkable wells which we sometimes find sunk in those camps, even on the top of a hill, and furnishing strong evidence of scientific knowledge and engineering skill. Persons recollect when the one in this camp was open, but it has now been shut up, to prevent sheep and cattle falling into it. I am indebted for the survey of this camp to Messrs. Paton and Robb, the schoolmasters, of Lamington and Crawfordjohn respectively, from whom I have received most valuable assistance during my investigations. When these gentleman visited the place, they were informed by a person resident in the vicinity, that he recollected "a stone about five feet long lying in the camp, with inscriptions upon it, but in a very Gothic manner. It had, however, been broken in pieces, and carried off with a lot of other stones from the camp to build stone dykes." It may readily be supposed that I felt much interested by this information, more especially as it is remarkable that not a single altar or inscription should have been found in the upper ward of Lanarkshire, though common both in the northern and southern parts of the Roman road which traverses it. I had even hopes that, by a strict search among the walls in the neighbourhood, some fragments of it might have been recovered, but these were, I am sorry to say, destroyed by a letter I received a little later from Mr. Robb, in which he stated, that on further enquiry he found that no other person but this single individual had either seen or heard of this stone, and that he strongly suspected that the whole affair was a hoax. A straight line drawn through these two camps, and prolonged till it reached the Roman iter, on the other side of the Clyde, would pass through Hardington, at which place the workmen engaged in forming a new approach lately dug up the bronze vessel now in the possession of Mr. Sim, which is represented of one-sixteenth its actual dimensions (plate 3, fig. 23.)

In Forrest's map a camp is laid down in Robertson parish, near the Milrig Burn; but I have been unable, after the most careful examination, to discover any vestige of it.



although there have been no agricultural operations on the spot to account for its disappearance.

I think it not improbable that a branch road may have run from the Drove Loan, near the village of Crawfordjohn, to join the great north and south iter at Coldchapel; but my only ground for this is the existence of the two following camps. No. 39 is situated on the Black hill, and has evidently been constructed for the purpose of commanding the fords of the Duneaton. It is defended by two ramparts, at an interval of 30 to 40 feet, and its extreme dimensions are 203 and 195 feet. No. 40 (plate 2, fig. 24) is on the bank of the Clyde, and has already been referred to in describing the camps at Coldchapel. Its shape is very remarkable.

The remaining portion of the Drove Loan presents difficulties which I must admit my inability to solve, as there are two different routes which it might have followed, both of which are to this day used as drove roads. There is a camp on the line of each. In fact, there is no evidence which would justify us in preferring the one to the other, while manifest inutility appears to negative the idea that both were used at the same time. Under these circumstances, I have thought it best to indicate both lines on the plan by dotted lines.

One of these roads turns sharply to the right from the previous course of the Drove Loan, and passing into the parish of Douglas, skirts Aukensaugh hill. It then crosses the Glespin Burn into the farm of Glentaggart, and ascends the stream of the same name, near the top of which, on a shoulder of Hartwood hill, we find what tradition has called a camp, but most faintly marked, the rampart being only a few inches high, and scarcely a foot in width. It is a rectangle of 150 by 87 feet, and one corner on the west side has been cut off by a marsh. The grass in the interior is a little different from the surrounding herbage. It commands an extensive view to south and north-east. On the opposite side of the road is a curious font. It consists of a large stone, one foot eight inches above the surface of the ground, four feet six on one side, and three feet nine on the other, in length, by one foot seven in width. There are two cavities cut out of the upper surface, seven inches in depth by eight in breadth.

The division which separates them is four inches thick. Tradition assigns this to the times of the Covenanters, who used it for baptism at the time they took refuge in the muirs; and I was informed that the great grandfather of one of the present farmers of the district was christened there. From this point the road returns into the parish of Crawfordjohn, and passes between the farmhouse of Shawhead and the hill called Cairn Kinny, into Dumfriesshire; but it does not continue long in that county, as, after traversing a small corner, it pursues its course into Ayrshire.

The other line is however, perhaps, the most natural, as it continues in the same direction as the Drove Loan had previously pursued. Passing the village of Crawfordjohn, it ascends the left bank of the Duneaton, till it reaches the farm of Sheriffeleuch, where it crosses that river, and soon arrives at a camp. Mr. Robb was so kind as to visit this place, but found that the remains of the camp had been so confused with modern turf walls, that it was impossible for him to make any satisfactory plan of them. Several curious relics were dug up here a few years ago. One of these was the intaglio now in the possession of Mr. Rennie Scott, of Castlemains, by whose kindness I have been furnished with an impression of it. It has been worn as a ring or seal, the perforations by which the setting was attached being distinctly visible. Its reverse is perfectly plain. A bronze spur rowel in Mr. Sim's collection was also found here, along with some pieces of iron, apparently fragments of armour. From this point the road passes on the opposite side of Cairn Kinny, from that taken by the other branch with which it unites at the boundary of the county. Mr. Sim has also in his collection some bronze spear heads, which were found in the upper part of Douglas parish, near Cairntable, but he is unable to ascertain the exact locality. This observation completes the account of the ancient camps of the upper ward of Lanarkshire, with the exception of those in the small district near Biggar, which I mentioned before, and a detached one on Dillar hill, in Lesmahagow parish, which I was unable to visit.

P.S. Having been in Scotland since this paper was read, I have availed myself of the opportunity to make a further

examination of some of the localities, the results of which may be thus stated.

1. The statement that the well in the camp (No. 38) was open within the memory of man, must be placed in the same category with the pretended altar.

2. I entertain strong doubts whether the appearances which were supposed to indicate the existence of a well, both in this camp and in No. 10, are anything but natural depressions of the ground.

3. On the other hand, I have ascertained that the well in No. 1 is undoubtedly entitled to be considered artificial. The tumuli situated in this camp I have found, however, by actual excavation, to be merely natural elevations.

ON THE ANTIQUITIES OF MAIDSTONE, AND THE POLYCHROMY OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

BY J. WHICHCORD, JUN., ESQ., F.S.A.

[*Read at the Rochester and Maidstone Congress.*]

PRIOR to entering on the immediate subject of this paper, it may be permitted that I should very briefly advert to the leading points of antiquity now remaining in the town of Maidstone, the more prominent of which have been visited during this Congress; and in doing so I cannot but allude to a distinguished local antiquary (Mr. Clement Smythe¹), who, had he been still living, would have hailed this visit of so many kindred spirits with great delight, and from the mass of information possessed by him relative to the local antiquities of this county, and the anxiety he would have felt, have added much to the interest attaching to the visit of the Association to his native town. Mr. Smythe had long intended to publish

¹ See biographical notice in the *Journal*, vol. ix, p. 111.

the result of his researches; and for the interest of the antiquarian history of the county, it is much to be regretted that his labours were not left arranged in a form fitted for publication.

I pass over the very meagre early history of Maidstone, although Roman remains found in it, especially a Roman bath, sufficiently prove it to have been in existence at that early date; and it has been recognized by antiquaries, and amongst them by the learned Camden, as the Vagniacæ. The modern name of the town is doubtless derived from the river Medway running through it; the Saxon "Med-weg" being easily resolved in Med-weg's town, Meddestan, Maidstone. In the records of the justices itinerant in the time of Edward I, it is said to have been called Maydenstone, or the town of Maidens.¹

The chief remaining antiquities are the group of buildings around the existing parish church, consisting of the church itself, the palace of the archbishops of Canterbury, the college of William de Courtney, already ably treated of in a work by our respected associate the rev. Beale Poste. There are also some very slight remains in a house on the east of the college, conjectured by Newton to be the monastery of Grey Friars, mentioned in the supplement to the *Monasticon* as being founded by king Edward III and his brother the earl of Cornwall.

On the western side of the river are some remains, confined however to the chapel of the hospital for travellers or pilgrims, dedicated to St. Peter, St. Paul, and St. Thomas à Becket; it was established about the middle of the thirteenth century by Boniface archbishop of Canterbury, son of Peter earl of Savoy, and uncle to queen Eleanor, wife of Henry III.

The Grammar School is interesting as having formerly been a house of the brethren of Corpus Christi, who were to pray for the fraternity of the Guild, and celebrate masses for the repose of their souls. I have been unable to discover any record of a founder of this house, although the fraternity were possessed of a considerable estate. The revenues at the suppression were valued at £40:0:8, when the corporation of Maidstone purchased it, and con-

¹ The old seal of Maidstone represents a maiden standing on a stone.

verted it to the use of a free grammar school; and it is said (I believe, too truly) that it was paid for from the proceeds of the plunder of plate and vestments belonging to the church.

Returning to the group of buildings round the church. The palace, on the authority of Lambard and Kilburne, was begun in 1348, by John Ufford archbishop of Canterbury, and carried on by his successor archbishop Simon Islip, who proceeded very expeditiously with the work, pulling down his palace of Wrotham for the sake of the materials, and by license of the pope charging his whole province with a tax of 4*d.* in the mark for this purpose. Very little of Ufford or Islip's work is now traceable. The existing structure is to be attributed to cardinal Morton, 1486, and to sir Thomas Wyatt, who became possessed of it through his grandfather sir Henry Wyatt, of Allington castle, to whom it was granted by Henry VIII.

The church was founded by William de Courtney archbishop of Canterbury, who, in 1395, obtained a license from king Richard II to convert the parish church of St. Mary at Maidstone into a collegiate church of one master or warden, and as many chaplains as he should think fit, and to assign and appropriate several rich benefices to their use. In the centre of the chancel was formerly a superb brass of Courtney, the incision for which in a large slab of Bethersden marble is still apparent.

The archbishop, in a codicil to his will, directed his body to be interred in this church. Much discussion has taken place, however, as to the site of his tomb, which was set at rest a few years ago on examination, when his body, arrayed in full pontificals, was found.

On the tomb of Wotton, the first master of the college, situated at the back of the sedilia, between the high altar and the Arundel chantry, are painted the arms of Courtney, and the painted subjects refer to the dedication of the chantry by archbishop Arundel in 1406.

The painting on this tomb, and on the screen on the opposite side, dividing the high altar from the Gould chantry, has been exquisitely done, and though much defaced, sufficient remains to enable a just restoration to be made; and this colour is so complete a type of the principle which governed the medieval artists in this prin-

ciple of decoration, that I have ventured to make it the excuse for the following remarks

ON THE POLYCHROMY OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

From the remotest ages of antiquity, the application of colour has been numbered among the arts. So universal, so general, so apparent, is its adaptation from nature, that we must seek for the laws which governed the earliest schools in the works of nature herself. Every age of the world might afford a theme for the principle on which their use of the polychromatic art was based, and the means employed for the object; but it is to the mediæval ages to which our attention is to be more immediately directed.

While every age and country has possessed its own distinctive mode of building, characterised by a spirit embodied under widely differing and incompatible forms, the appliances of colour fall under one law; and the same combinations that impart elegance and harmony to the exquisite contours and open surfaces of classic art, are also capable of producing an equally pleasing effect when found in the shadowed projections and intricate shape of pointed architecture.

The attention which of late years has been directed to the study of our national monuments of the past, influenced in a great measure by the establishment of societies such as the British Archæological Association, has removed the prejudices against the use of colour in restoration, inasmuch as it has established beyond doubt the fact of its use, and as discoveries were from time to time brought to light, the almost universal use of the polychromatic art.

The object of polychromy is to heighten the effect of architectural decorations, by causing a more just subordination of the various parts than can be obtained by mere *chiaro-scuro*. When the details of enrichment are minute or greatly removed from the eye, the use of strongly contrasting colours is necessary to mark the various details and subdivisions, which would otherwise be lost; or to connect more elaborate with plainer portions of the same work. It is often also used to attract the eye to the more

important portions of a building; and the beautiful effect of the brilliant lines, gilded prominences, and rich surfaces harmoniously toned with diaper, is known to every admirer of mediæval architecture.

It is probable that in the practice of classic antiquity the ornamented colouring of walls and ceilings, and perhaps in general even the detail of the arabesques, was left to the skill and fancy of the workman. The style of execution in such instances as remain to us, exhibits great facility of production, accompanied by characteristics that distinguish them in a marked manner from the work of an artist. Yet, in most cases, there exists a certain concordance of parts and unity of effect, that uneducated taste would not be able to attain. Perhaps, we should be correct in viewing the various specimens as diversified reproductions of a few types in fashion at the time, with which the workman would necessarily be familiar and capable of applying, without further assistance than the general direction of the superior artist.

In point of fact, decorative painting was naturally subject to the same influence of the same external cause that affected art generally; and in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries had evolved for itself a style essentially distinct, both from the classic and revived manner. In Italy, the style thus formed not only appears from the first to have had a looser hold, but was earlier abandoned for a style in imitation of the antique; all the productions of that country subsequent to the revival are conceived in a distinct spirit, and executed in a manner rapidly deviating from the practice of northern Europe; decorative painting in the hands of the Italian school gradually ceased to be polychromy, and assumed a form subject to all the laws of pictorial composition.

In Gothic polychromy, as in Gothic architecture, notwithstanding the fertility of detail that prevailed, there will be found during the epoch of any particular style, a vast number of instances, in which the ancient architects have imitated themselves; continual repetition of the same idea will frequently be observable in particular districts, or if differing at all, only in the degree that circumstances or individual taste may have modified the original standard. The skill of the designers was exhibited in the reproduc-

tion of certain set forms; and in suiting them to particular localities or requirements, rather than gratifying the thirst for novelties. Copies of a few ceilings, strings, shafts, and canopies, with their mouldings and enrichments, and a few examples of diaper, would form an alphabet of polychromy, which would supply all the knowledge of ancient colour an antiquary could require.

In churches of almost the earliest date, traces of colour may be found, generally applied in a very rude manner, and frequently consisting of nothing more than yellow wash and red or black bands; this observation holds true of almost all the decorative painting that is supposed to have been executed during the prevalence of the Saxon and Norman styles; where any pattern has been attempted, it may be immediately recognized by the resemblance it bears to the sculptured enrichments of the period. Perhaps, the earliest account of the art is to be found chronicled by Gunton in his history of Peterborough. He says: "There was within these few years a door in the church (Peterborough) having the picture of abbot Hedda and the king of the Danes, as it were expostulating the business, and underneath were these four lines, written in ancient *Saxon* letters, as if they had been spoken by the abbot:—

"Fers mala, pejora timeas, cedasque rigori,
Nec teneare mora, ne teneare mori.
Hoc ne dabo domitus quod Barbarus advena quærit,
Da, necer immeritus, mors mihi munus erit."

In the north transept of Winchester cathedral there exists a singular relic of early painting; the arches of early Norman date have their massive masonry concealed beneath a coat of plaister, which retains indications of colour; and on the side of one of the arches that face eastwards are a series of radiating lines, drawn to represent the arch stones, in a blood-red colour, in each of which are intersecting bands, forming a kind of cross saltire, which bands are dotted with spots of a deeper red; the opposite side of the arch is ornamented with a different design, but of the same colour, and a scroll pattern is also existing running round parallel to the arch. A nearer approach to the manner of a later age is shown in the nave of Rochester

cathedral, where the sculptured enrichments that fill the spandril spaces, between the double arches of the triforia, and the large single arch within which they are embraced, are picked out in different colours; in some of these cases the enrichments resemble the flattened tooth ornament with which the walls of Westminster abbey are covered. The whole of the Norman work in Rochester cathedral appears to have been covered with colour (the stones of the shafts and arches were painted alternately red, green, and yellow; the whole face of the stone being filled by the same colour), not distinguishing the mouldings. In the south transept, the date of which is early in the thirteenth century, a similar system has been adopted, where the stones and not the mouldings are distinguished, similar to the Lombardic churches of Italy, the stones of which are used of contrasting colour. The labels only are treated as distinct features; the tier of windows at the south end have each stone of the labels marked in a contrasting colour to those of the arches; thus, if an arch stone be green, that portion of the label in contact with it will be red or yellow, and *vice versâ*.

During the former part of what is commonly called the early English period, that is, from 1189 to 1216, decorative painting made but little progress, and the extant specimens exhibit a similar mode to that formerly in use; colours were used in masses without distinction of detail. A screen of about this date, against the north and south walls of the Lady chapel at Winchester, has the centre columns of its tripled shafts painted alternately red and black, the columns on either side of the centre being painted in the contrasting colour; in this case the colour on the columns extends to the adjacent hollow, without any other relief than a double band of black encircling those columns that are red, at about every foot in height. When painting was only partially introduced, as was the case in simpler works, such as churches in rural districts, red was the favourite teint used in the capitals and bases of the columns, and often appearing as a margin to the internal window jaumb, if the jaumb was without mouldings, of the breadth of two or three inches, sometimes with a narrow black line running beside it on its outer edge.

Few traces of colouring of much greater interest will be found prior to the accession of Henry III. The paintings in churches of an early character were often executed at a later period, and this may generally be suspected when the decorations are of an elaborate kind, when no letters or costumes are represented to determine the precise date; such decorations as we have alluded to, with a few figures in the plaister, of the chancel walls, under the east window and on the chancel arch, painted in red or black outline, a few sentences, and a ruder cross or two, are all that the art of the former part of the thirteenth century appears to have been capable of producing.

In the reign of Henry III a great improvement in the art is apparent. In close connexion with historical and imaginative subjects, and forming with them part of the same design, we find a more developed mode of decorative colouring applied both to heighten the effect of sculptured forms, and in the shape of arabesques and diapers diversifying plain surfaces.

A free and bold style in arabesque prevailed from the time of Henry III until the close of the reign of Edward III. Bright and lively colours were applied in masses, the grounds covered with compositions of foliage and birds, animals, and human figures, sometimes in one teint, sometimes in varied colours. One of the most beautiful designs in use was a pattern of vine leaves, frequently drawn with remarkable freedom and elegance, in which the leaves, the tendrils, and the fruit, are represented in red and green teints, with various coloured birds nestling among the leaves; this is found repeated in groinings of this date; for example, in a piece of wall painting in St. William's chapel, in Rochester cathedral; and under the canopy of the monument of Aveline countess of Lancaster, in the choir of Westminster abbey. Various figures and devices are found incorporated with foliage in designs of this description, at some times free and in composition with the foliage, at other times displaying within coloured medallions the faces of men and angels, full-length figures, and emblems. The groined ceiling of Adam de Orleton's chantry in Winchester cathedral, exhibits on a straw-coloured ground, among green foliage with flowers, green and blue medallions, in which are painted the heads



of angels surrounded by a nimbus ; the groining ribs have their mouldings marked in various colours ; and a running enrichment, in a chevron pattern, is painted in red and black on the centre moulding ; the coloured mouldings of this date are often powdered with rosettes, or similar ornaments in red, black, or gold ; and it was not unfrequent to cover with a sculptured diaper even those mouldings that were intended to be painted.

Even at this period, however, when the *tout ensemble* of Gothic edifices was, perhaps, more gorgeously magnificent than at any other time, the antiquary will perceive a want of that nicety that distinguishes the work of a succeeding age. To the fifteenth century may be ascribed the perfection of a system of polychromatic decoration, which, if wanting somewhat in the striking and original character of earlier work, exhibits art acting under the influence of settled laws, with greater certainty of effect, a vast improvement in technical skill, and more elaborate variety in the designs. The difference in the modes of painting that prevailed, during the decorated and perpendicular periods, shows itself particularly in the forms of the diapers, which at the later date are more set, with a frequent use of geometrical patterns, and greater minuteness in the colouring.

At no time does it appear to have been considered *indispensable*, that the whole, or any *particular* part of a building, should be coloured ; in fact, the symbolism of colours, if ever acknowledged, had been forgotten, and the use of decoration in a building was regulated by no other law than the simple canons of taste, the caprice of the artist, or the munificence of a founder ; a striking instance of this may be observed in Maidstone church, where the canopied sedilia on the south side of the chancel have never received any other painted decoration than the shields on front of each canopy, although the adjacent walls were covered with diaper, and the oak screen on the opposite side exhibited the most glowing tints. In late work the boarding is sometimes without ribs, painted in imitation of clouds ; in the case of groined ceilings the ribs and bosses follow the same rule, but the spandrils are frequently diapered.

Wall surfaces were generally of a blue or red teint ; blue when forming a ground for pictorial compositions,

and more commonly red when unbroken; large surfaces of any colour were invariably diapered, and generally in a deeper shade of the same colour, but the diapering is sometimes omitted when figures are introduced. So attached were the middle age artists to the use of diaper, that even works in metal, especially effigies, are engraved all over in similar forms to those used on coloured surfaces. Nothing exhibits their abhorrence of unbroken tints more forcibly than the minute delicacy of their works in mosaic and enamel. All enriched work was painted in contrasting colours, the surfaces red or green. Upon the monuments on the north side of the choir of Westminster abbey, a sort of bistre colour is made use of, as a counterchange for red; in the pannels round the tomb, in the cornices, and in the series of quatrefoils for the display of arms on Valence and Crouchback's monuments. On lord Bourchier's monument beneath the screen of St. Paul's chapel, green appears in corresponding situations, with blue introduced for relief in hollows, where the object sought was to give depth. Small column shafts or beads were often painted in a spiral curve, or barbers'-pole fashion, white and black, white and red, red and black, or red and blue; small fillets were often white; and all bosses, crockets, finials, and prominent edges, gilt; and the whole powdered over with star-like flowers or sprigs of gold, or black if on a red ground, and generally gold over all other colours. On king Sebert's monument, the faces of the pyramidal canopies are more plainly coloured, and the faces of the intervening pinnacles have their pilaster faces gilt, relieved by green in the pannels. The octagonal bases of shafts often had their alternate faces painted of different colours, and the various cap and base mouldings picked out and gilded.

Strings usually had their plain surfaces and hollows red or green, the bead often gilt, but the concave parts of cornices when enriched were often blue. The fine effect produced by the use of very few colours, may be judged by the screen in Edward the Confessor's chapel; the faces here have a red ground, the soffits blue, and over these universal tints the gilded lace work of the tracery must have shown to great advantage. The favourite arrangement seems to have been red, green, and gold; but

when the series of mouldings requiring to be distinguished by alternate colours were deep, it was often customary to give greater variety by using different shades of the same colour, and which were often placed adjacent to each other; the same means was resorted to when the very limited number of positive colours, occasionally in the intricacy of Gothic tracery, brought the faces of two members having the same colour into contact with each other.

Diapers were of several kinds; that most commonly met with extends itself over large surfaces in a running pattern, often executed in a deeper shade of the ground colour. There is a variety of this kind of diaper, that may perhaps with more propriety be termed arabesque; such is shown in the groined canopy over the tomb of Aveline countess of Lancaster; here we see an entwining pattern of vine leaves and fruit, the fruit and strigs red, and the leaves green; the ground shows a straw colour, perhaps originally gilded. A second form, perhaps better understood by the word powdering, scatters over the ground a profusion of small sprigs or flowers, generally black or gold; the diaper of a wall sometimes consists of nothing more than the founder's initials, the monogram I.H.C. or like devices, in red, geometrically arranged upon an uncoloured ground, that is a ground which has no other colour than the prevailing teint of the building.

The plain faces of buttresses and pinnacles and small running bands are often ornamented with a pattern in two colours, sometimes simple and extending itself over the whole surface; or if that be very much prolonged, repeated throughout its length: the prevailing tint for this ornament is white and black or white with the prevailing ground; it seems to have been the aim of the Gothic artists to avoid as much as possible creating spaces of a single colour; for the smallest mouldings are generally powdered with red, black, or gold sprigs.

The use of diaper is to supply the place of middle teints, the introduction of which destroys the brilliancy and interferes with the keeping of polychromatic painting; a mass of colour of whatever weight or prominence may be enriched and at the same time toned, to almost any limit, by a judicious use of diaper.

In pictorial compositions, a wider range was allowed, and compound and neutral teints will frequently be met with.

As far as can be ascertained, very similar *menstrua* were used to liquefy the pigments employed, both in the classic and middle ages; painting on plaister was practised at both periods, but it is exceedingly doubtful whether fresco¹ (properly so called) was used to any extent in Europe, prior to its recorded introduction in Italy.

Wax with the volatile oils, and resin, appear to have been the general media; and perhaps the paintings executed in wax, may so far be called encaustic, as that term applies to bringing out the wax by means of heat after the painting is done:² a very considerable portion of the remains of mediæval colouring appears to have been executed with turpentine and resin, more particularly those that exhibit, after the lapse of ages, much of their ancient brilliancy, and adhere with tolerable tenacity to the surface painted on. Wax dissolved in gum water may also have been employed, as gum was much used for a similar purpose³ in the middle ages: ancient paintings executed with honey and wax possess a high degree of durability, and this method was much in favour among the Grecian artists, but its use in the middle ages is only conjectural.

In the fifteenth century however oil seems to have predominated. There are instances of the use of oil in the *late* part of the fourteenth century, and most of the monuments in the choir of Westminster Abbey are painted entirely in oil. In those cases however where it is possible to ascertain the original tints, they appear inferior in brilliancy and certainly in surface to the other work of the same date. Oil also was used for the pictorial decoration of St. Stephen's Chapel, Westminster, of which we read that Hugh de St. Albans and John Cotton were employed as principal painters on wages of one shilling per day (see Britton's *Architectural Antiquities*), and about this time came into general estimation among artists; although scarcely capable of the same fixity of tints as the older compositions, oil has been found to possess many qualities that render it superior in handling, combining more readily with the

¹ Fresco is the art of painting in size colour upon a fresh plaister ground; the name is derived from the Italians, who call it *dipingere in fresco*, in contradistinction to the *dipingere in secco*. (Merrimée.)

² In the south aisle of the choir at Westminster, the walls of the recess, known as king Sebert's monument, appear to have been painted in wax.

³ Illuminating manuscripts.

various pigments and flowing freely; the modes of preparing oil for colouring, however, appear to have been different to those now in use. Few ancient specimens will be found that have received more than a single coat of paint, whereas on the modern system the work must be painted over several times before an even surface or an equal intensity of teint can be produced; these repeated coats are destructive of all nicety and finish.

When any extent of wall surface was proposed to be painted, it was usual to cover the stonework with a thin coat of plaister or whiting, for the purpose of concealing the joints, and affording a better ground;¹ the ground thus gained was, in works of importance, very carefully prepared with size of thin glue or of gum-arabic, dissolved in water, with the addition of a little dry white lead, or sheep-skin size, to prevent the too great absorption of colour.² For gilding, sizes similar to those now or lately in use were adopted and laid as a second coat over the previous one. The gilding of middle age works will generally be found to have been performed in a superior manner and to have stood well.

In appearance these paintings most nearly resemble flatted work varnished: the colours have in general more force than is usually attained by modern oil; glossy, yet free from glaze, and possessing considerable body. They are not absorbed by wood or stone; nor do they adhere very tenaciously; though easily separable from the ground, they are not liable to crack.

Distemper paintings are very common, and do not differ materially from the appearance of such work in the present day; in buildings of small importance, simple earths dissolved in water, were often the only colouring media applied, and continued to be used in our village churches, down to a very recent date.

I shall now allude to a very leading feature in the poly-

¹ No variation appears to have been made in this practice, even when oil was intended to be used. The oil paintings on what is termed king Sebert's monument in Westminster abbey, may be mentioned as executed on a thin coat of plaister, although both the assigned antiquity of these subjects, and the probability of their being the production of a native artist, may be doubted.

² Merimée gives various recipes of a more modern date for the preparing of grounds for wall painting; he appears to recommend saturating the cement that forms the ceruse with drying oil and wax (in preference to boiled oil).

chromatic art, viz., the use of coloured glass, which, after all, important as this art is considered, and justly considered, should be looked upon only as carrying out the polychromatic decoration of a building.

The mode of colouring glass, by fluxing with certain mineral substances, was known at an early period during the classic ages, and extensively applied in the manufacture of ornamental articles; but the comparatively small use that was made of glass for domestic purposes, and more especially the little necessity that existed in those countries for its introduction as a means of excluding weather, checked the progress of the art of glass-working. Even in habitations of a superior order glass windows were only introduced upon a limited scale, and then only in those apartments that were more particularly private: nothing, indeed, seems to have been aimed at, but to provide a mode of excluding any occasional inclemency of the seasons from apartments where the value of light itself was little considered. It is true that in some temples, and perhaps in buildings of a more public character, glass, or some substitute for glass, seems to have been occasionally employed; but there is no evidence that these scanty apertures that were formed for the admission of light, were ever considered as in themselves important and telling features in the composition, nor was any attempt made to render the openings decorative in themselves.

In the earlier modifications of our national style, little improvement was attempted, though, even previous to the Norman æra, the glazing of church windows had been introduced on the Continent, and even copied in our own country; yet in the majority of our religious edifices, to a much later period, those openings that were necessary for light, equally admitted the stormy winds and beating rains of winter. To judge from the mode of building adopted by our ancestors, the climate of England must have been much milder than at present, or their hardy habits rendered them less sensitive to the fluctuations of the seasons.

The first evidence of improvement is found in the contracted apertures that distinguished the early English style, when the character of the edifice, or the limited means at the disposal of the founder, did not permit the introduction of the new and scarce luxury of glass. The

smallness of the deeply-recessed windows shows an attempt at the exclusion of the weather that soon ripened into the superior comfort of a later age.

How soon it was attempted to render what was in itself a mere matter of convenience, a mode of ornament, it is hard precisely to determine. Of early English glass we have many specimens, but the art of glass painting cannot be said to have reached its perfection until the decorated period, and even here it is questionable whether the palm of supremacy should be awarded to this or the succeeding style. The differences in treatment are obvious; the principles on which the artists of these different times proceeded, distinct; each possesses peculiar merits, and perhaps of both it may be said, that they harmonize best with the architecture of their respective periods.

Since the decline of the pointed style, the principles that ought to govern the use of painted glass have been greatly misunderstood. From the end of the fifteenth century, Europe seems to have been entranced by the miracles of Italian art; and so impressed were the designers of this period with the mania for glass-painting, that, forgetting the bar that the nature of their material opposed to success, they attempted to make their windows pictures. How clumsily they set about this, and with what unfortunate results, is marked upon every window of the date. In fact, it appears it was this attempt at pictorial effect which was the cause of the decline of the art of glass-painting, when the difficulties of execution which the material presented could not compete with oil as a medium for artistic skill. The glass painter has, indeed, little or nothing to study in common with the oil painter; the material, manipulation, and effect, required, are totally distinct; the parts most beautiful and effective on canvass, are faults and blotches in the more transparent material; and the details and minutiae so requisite in one, are a confused and indistinct jumble in the other.

As far as the effect of stained windows is concerned, their purpose would be equally answered by a judicious arrangement of pot glass; but it is quite possible for a painted window to be interesting in itself, without losing its proper relation to the architecture. There can be but one opinion on the attempt made, in the last century, to

represent on glass pictorial subjects, conceived according to the rules of historical composition, and executed upon the same principles as an ordinary painting: indeed, many of the windows of that date might be copies of tolerably good oil pictures, to which, however, they are inferior. The character of stained glass is sacrificed to an aim that is unsuccessful. How hopeless such an aim is must be evident to every one that reflects upon the different circumstances that distinguish a painted window from a shadowed painting,—the light comes *through* a window, it *falls* upon a picture. From the transparency of the material, no depth of shadow can of course be obtained, and the lights themselves are dimness: the effect of the whole is cold, sombre, and unreal.

Whether a painted window be adorned with figures and heraldries, or display only diapering and geometrical patterns, it should be considered, as before observed, only as carrying out the polychromatic decorations of the building; and this leads to a remark which presses heavily upon modern practice. It is alike useless and incorrect to glaze windows with coloured glass, while the walls themselves are left in naked coldness. If the walls, mouldings, and sculptured enrichments, of a building are heightened by colour; if the dark oak of its wooden ceiling is contrasted by red, blue, and gold, on its moulded ribs; or the whole canopy above is resplendent with stars that shine forth from a depth of azure; if masses of red on the walls throw out the more lightly-touched enrichments of the sculptured forms,—then, and then only, it becomes proper to dye the light of heaven with somewhat of the glories it illumines, and to turn the cold, blank openings into storied portals—

“With painted stories richly dight,
Casting a dim religious light,”

through which the mind seems to catch a glimpse of that spirit of beauty which the art around him had almost created. A painted window is the last addition decorative art makes,—the climax by which genius sets its seal upon a perfect work.

Examples of painted glass may be seen in almost the earliest buildings in this country. The art then consisted in the arrangement and contrast of pieces of glass of bright

colour ; and, later in the century, is a very crude attempt at the representation of the human figure. The workmanship seems to be in imitation of mosaic work, to which its principles bear a great similarity. This kind of work was very inapplicable to the display of figures, as every different colour required a separate piece of glass, and the lines of the lead-work, or arming, which held the glass, of course ramified all over the design.

A very great change in the art is exhibited in the works of the early part of the thirteenth century, and many remarkably beautiful specimens, of undoubted originality, exist. Although many examples may be cited of the mosaic description of work, yet the glass of this date wore a more free and lighter aspect ; it may be also remarked in the frequent use of beautifully-designed borders, executed with the rich ruby and azure colours ; the ground often consisted of a diapered pattern, in imitation of some natural climbing plant ; figures, when used, were commonly placed within a border, or aureole, always within the marginal border,—sometimes a series of these are placed one above the other the whole height of the window.

As the architecture at this period yielded to the various improvements and requirements of a more luxurious and tasteful age, so its attendant arts, required in the several species of decoration to modify their application to be suitable to, and adorn the newly suggested architectural features.

To the fourteenth and earlier part of the fifteenth century, may be ascribed the glory and perfection of glass painting, as well as the other branches of mediæval art. When every individual feature was toned to a due subordination, giving to the whole grandeur and magnificence, and so far from the glories of one art competing or subtracting from the interest of another, architecture, painting, and sculpture, harmoniously combined, to form one glorious whole.

The design now becomes much altered, and whereas that of the last century harmonized with the delicate workmanship of the early English style, this, more boldly developed, is far more appropriate to the expanded and richer efforts of the succeeding century ; the very minute borders and diapered patterns cease to be the distinguishing feature,

glass of deep and rich colour is used in masses, and we find figures enclosed with a representation of a canopy; the borders and back grounds are, however, by no means given up, but are often most beautifully and effectively introduced in contrast to the deeper and brighter colours.

From the latter part of the fourteenth, to nearly the end of the fifteenth century, the peculiarities consist in the adoption of larger figures, with very elaborate canopies, often forming the whole ground-work of the window; aerial perspective is also attempted. In the latter part of this century, we have all these effects more strikingly prominent. Scrolls are also very common, generally having reference to the design, or commemoration of the founder; but the great fault of glass of this date was in the attempted competition with oil paintings, and the endeavour to make a material do that of which it is not capable; this aim at pictorial effect also soon destroyed the subordination and harmony with the other features of the building: and it seemed seeking to attract entire attention; in fact, to such an extent was this carried, that the architecture was made subservient to the glass, and it is not, I believe, a solitary instance of a mullion being cut away, for the more effective display of the glass picture. It is, however, very common to see one subject carried through a whole window, despite of mullions and tracery. The half tint, again, introduced into the drapery of figures to aid this pictorial aim, detracts much from brilliancy, and does away with the unique properties and peculiarities of painted glass, namely, brightness and transparency.

Horace Walpole has preserved, from Mr. Vertue's MSS., a curious deed, which hands down to us the names of the artists who executed the windows in the magnificent chapel of King's College, Cambridge. It runs thus: "Indenture, May 3rd, 18 Henry 8th, between the provost Robert Hacomblein and Thomas Locke, surveyor of the works on one part, and Francis Williamson of Southwark, glazier, and Simon Symonds of St. Margaret's, Westminster, glazier; the two latter agreeing curiously and sufficiently to glaze the windows of the upper story of the church of King's College, Cambridge, of orient colours and imagery of the story of the old law and of the new law, after the manner of goodness in every point of the King's new Chapel at



Westminster, also according to the manner done by Bernard Flower, glazier, deceased; also according to such patterns, otherwise called 'vidimus'; to be set up within two years next ensuing, to be paid after the rate of 16*d.* per foot for the glass."

Many elaborate specimens, executed in the sixteenth century, exist, all however more or less tainted with the above-mentioned defects; but while admiring the careful and accurate drawing and the artistic beauty of the design as an individual work of art, such excellences cannot counterbalance the want of harmony with the features of the structure the design is to embellish; and the feeling of the decline of the spirit of medieval art is in no case so painfully apparent as in the contemplation of the works of the Tudor age, compared with those of the preceding centuries.

The general features of this era of glass painting, differ little in their general composition, from the style immediately before it; but all its defects are exaggerated; oftentimes the polychromatic spirit in the decoration is entirely lost sight of, and in lieu of the harmony of unnumbered dyes, chequering, mingling with, and toning each other, a dim and cloudy neutral tint is substituted.

I do not wish to attempt to undervalue these works, excellent as all must allow them to be in point of design, artistical feeling, and technical skill; but that they are totally misapplied as subjects for windows, when lights and shadows are constantly influenced by the transparency of the material, and when from the height of the subject from the eye, the elaborate and minute manipulation cannot be appreciated; also doing away with the *intention* of the art of glass-painting, which undoubtedly arose from the necessity of producing a rich effect from what would otherwise be blank, individual, and unconnected features. Immediately following this period (the era of the Reformation), the bigoted zeal of the Puritans prevented the advance of the art, and demolished the greater part of existing subjects. In deploring the work of these spoilers in the beautiful church of Peterborough, an old writer observes: "Having destroyed all the tombs, altars, and pavements, they now have leisure to look at the windows above them, which would have entertained any persons else, with great

delight and satisfaction, but only such zealots as these whose eyes were so dazzled, that they thought they saw Popery in every picture and piece of painted glass.'” One of the arguments used by the Puritans for breaking the painted glass was, because by darkening the church it obscured the new light of the Gospel.

Here, then, was the practice of glass-painting for a while exterminated: some few specimens were, however, produced soon after the reformation, but from the disuse of the architecture with which the art was so intimately associated, and from the imitation of the Italian school, at that time becoming so much the fashion, the works were of little note, and when used, frequently foreign in design.

Except where occasionally we admire the work of some Dutch or German artist, a void in the art exists, until the spirit which has lately arisen from the restoration of many of our religious edifices, and the accompanying decorative arts, have animated the energy of the wealthy, the soul and talents of the artist: and while we see and admire these restored works, it is most devoutly to be hoped that the *spirit* which created mediæval taste may animate its admirers, and that from the ashes of restoration may arise a phoenix,—the monument and illustration of the taste and genius of the nineteenth century.

Sir Joshua Reynolds has remarked, that “invention is one of the marks of genius; but if we consult experience, we shall find that it is by being conversant with the inventions of others we learn to invent, as by reading the thoughts of others we learn to think.” Hence the *real practical* value of the study of antiquity. The above remark may well be applied to the labours of the Archæological Association, whose object is to become conversant with the works of others, hereafter probably to work important ends in the history of our age.

In these days, we have the *power* of producing the finest subjects this art is capable of. From the ability of the artists employed,—the practical works on the subject serving as so much experience,—in the mechanical means, in the knowledge of chemical combination and burning in of colour, we have infinite advantages over the craftsmen of the middle ages; and however much may be said of the lost secrets of the art, we have certainly little to envy the ancients in their method of proceeding.

But instead of employing these various talents to advantage, what is it that we shall leave to posterity to perpetuate and immortalize our proficiency in art? Skill, science, refinement, not one attribute is wanting to greatness or originality, but the *adaptive principle* is wanting: that principle which identifies a nation with its deeds, art, at any era with its productions. We know not our own power; like the first restorers of literature, we spend our strength in imitations,—so true, so beautiful, so comprehensive of the spirit of the original, as make us grieve for the days and men, whose attainments were wasted for so trivial an end. It is but to believe that we can impart to our creations the impress of ourselves, and it is done. We need no new inventions; no mind can *create a style in art*, he may acquire a *manner*; but style is the invisible and unconscious work of an age and people; a thousand circumstances go to determine the character and development of art at any particular period; it cannot be separated from the people themselves, the whole turn of their mind, their habits of thinking, their religious impressions, their domestic occupations, their public character and political station, all are reflected in it, and it is this that makes art a more valuable, more trustworthy record than aught else besides. It matters not what it operates upon. Stone or glass, marble or canvas, Grecian, Gothic, Indian, or Elizabethan,—from any or all of these, national art is capable of rearing itself a monument that shall tell its tale to eternity.

In the present day, however, a decided privation seems to mark our people; conscious of our own want of popular individuality, we endeavour to borrow from other times a lustre that may gild our era, though it be only with a reflected light. On every hand edifices arise, not inferior in cost and labour to the most magnificent edifices of the past; a feverish anxiety characterises every department of industry, and our own age, when it shall come to be recorded in the annals of the world, will be remembered as one when the people were more wealthy and busy, the channels of successful enterprise more broad and widely ramified, and the whole race of mankind hurrying each other forward in a race, whose goal none knew, and of whose track no vestige is imprinted on the face of time.

ON THE MARTYRDOM OF ST. THOMAS OF CANTERBURY, AND OTHER PAINTINGS

DISCOVERED AT ST. JOHN'S CHURCH, WINCHESTER, A.D. 1853.

BY FRANCIS JOSEPH BAIGENT, ESQ.

CHANGED in aspect are the venerable features of St. John's from what they were when described in the opening paper of the last volume of our *Journal*; so complete, indeed, is the transition its interior has undergone, that it is scarcely to be recognized as the same old church. Nor is this to be wondered at, considering it has passed through that dreadful ordeal known by the term "*church restoration*", which often with greater propriety might be called "*church desecration*"; for in most cases it amounts to little less. For a period of nearly six months, this church has been in the hands of bricklayers, masons, and carpenters; its interior has been cleared out, the pavement plucked up, the walls stripped of their plaster, and the roof untiled. These formed the preliminary operations of the restoration. The church now presents an appearance of neatness, with a degree of newness; and, perhaps, in the eyes and ideas of the parishioners, it may be more comfortable. But, as every venerable feature is pretty sure to be destroyed in undergoing this process, so in this instance the old associations are almost entirely gone. The rood-screen, however, still reminds one of the *faith* of its original builders; and the Easter sepulchre tells that it was adapted for, and once witnessed, an older and a more gorgeous *ritual*.

The opportunity thus afforded to continue our researches on the walls of this church was not neglected, previous to the destruction of the whole of the plaster with which they were covered. The result of our labour is exhibited in the accompanying plates. These, with the series already published (plates 1-6, vol. ix), formed the entire pictorial decorations of this church. The north aisle only had its entire walls covered with paintings, all executed at the same period, and by the same hands; probably the work of some Franciscan friar. A convent of this order having been established a few years previous to the date of these paint-

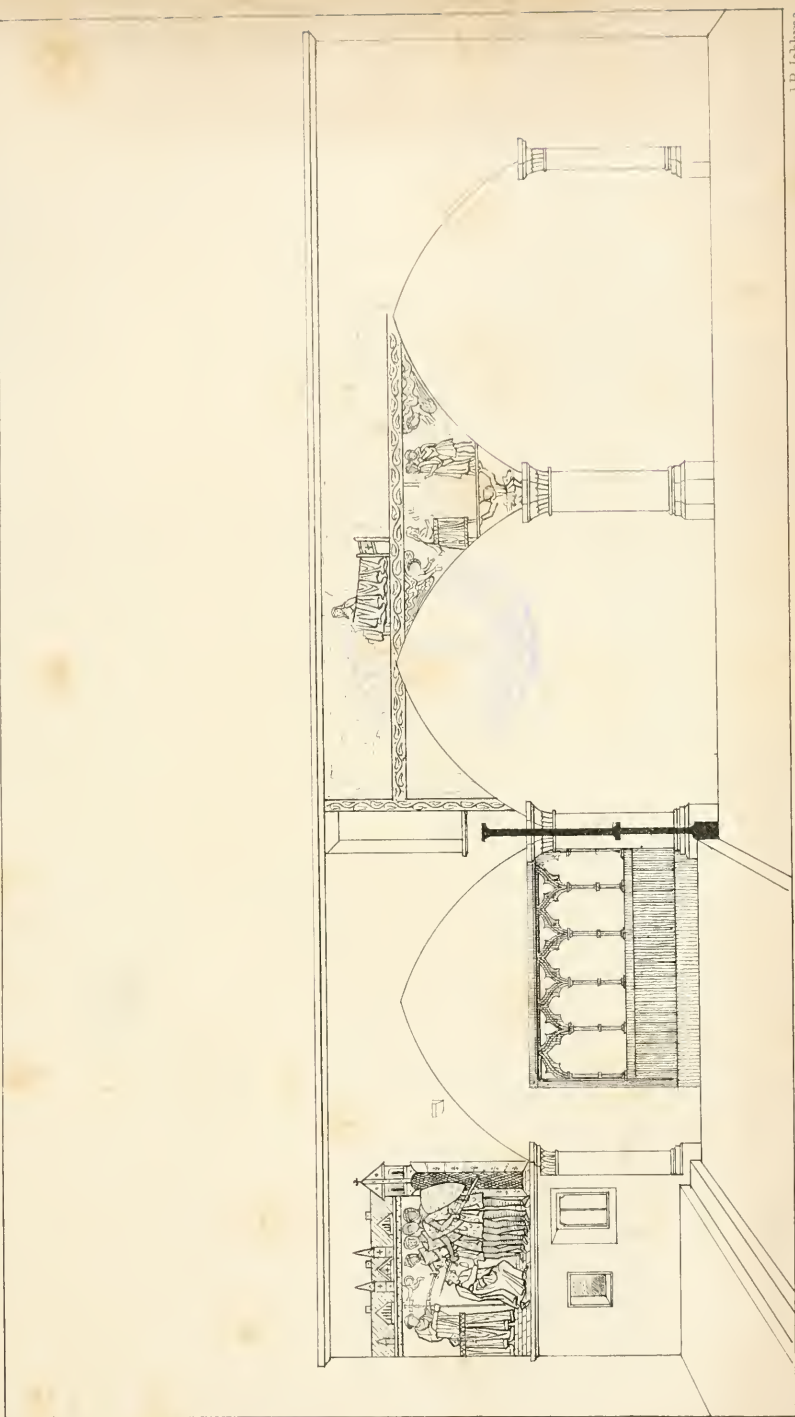
ings, and at no very great distance from this church, the community might have had the use of this aisle while their own church and house were being built, and afterwards might have decorated its walls, as an acknowledgment of their gratitude.

In commencing an account of these newly discovered paintings, as those already published were on the north wall of the north aisle, we will begin with those found on the opposite wall of the same aisle. In order better to illustrate their respective positions, an elevation is given of this wall (see plate 4), consisting of the respond to the east wall having the piscina and hagioscope, and above this a string moulding; to the west are three flat pointed arches resting on circular pillars; between the first is seen the early decorated parclose-screen, and on the adjoining pillar a section of the rood-screen, with its passage or entrance in the wall above. The altar step and its predella, given in the drawing, have since been removed.

The first of these paintings is of no ordinary interest, not only on account of its date and the circumstance that its preservation was *entirely owing* to its being covered up more than a century previous to the change of religion in this country, but also because it represents the violent death of that remarkable man, who refused to give to Cæsar the things that belonged to God. Crossing all alone the will of a powerful monarch, he readily yielded up his life in defence of that church of which he was the spiritual father, and with the courage and constancy of a martyr, when he knew his hour was come, resolved to go to the high altar of his cathedral, and perish in the patriarchal chair in which he and all his predecessors from time immemorial had been enthroned;¹ but Heaven had decreed otherwise.

So numerous were the paintings and statues of this beloved and popular martyr, St. Thomas of Canterbury, which existed in our ecclesiastical edifices and private oratories, as to cause much surprise that not a single statue and but very few paintings escaped the order for their destruction, issued by Henry VIII, dated November 16th, 1538. It decreed that St. Thomas was no saint, but

¹ Anon. Lambeth., p. 121.



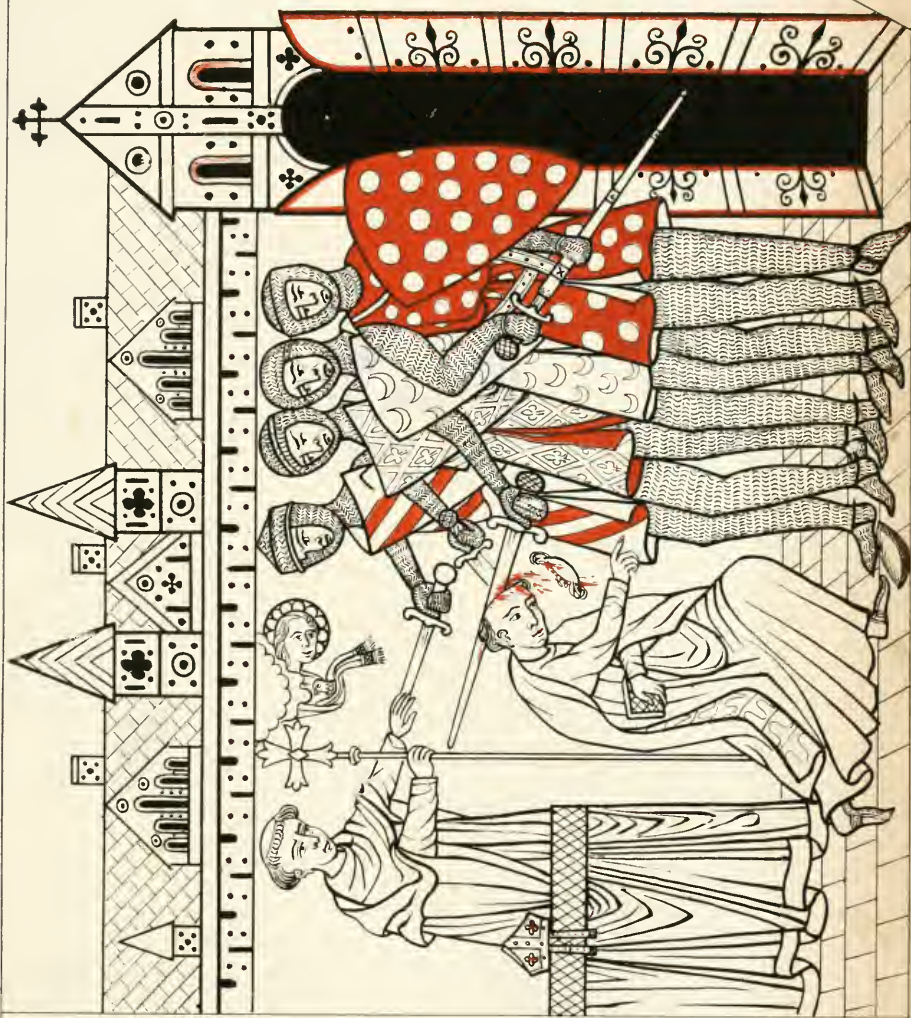
Scale of One Hundred.

J R Johnson

Francis Joseph Baigent Del: 1853.

AN ELEVATION OF THE SOUTH SIDE OF NORTH AISLE OF SAINT JOHN'S CHURCH, WINCHESTER.







a rebel and a traitor; and that all pictures, statues, and other memorials of him, throughout the whole realm, should be destroyed; all festivals held in his honour should be abolished, and his name erased from all documents; the services, offices, antiphons, collects, and prayers to his honour to be obliterated from all missals, breviaries, and other books.¹ All this was commanded under pain of the royal indignation and imprisonment during the king's pleasure. One can easily imagine how jealous that royal tyrant must have been of the love and veneration paid to this saint, which were a reproach to him for his own rebellion against that church, in defence of which St. Thomas stood unto death. Though Henry succeeded in severing this country from the "See of Peter", it was not without a struggle, and only after sending to the block sir Thomas More, one of England's best chancellors, the aged cardinal of St. Vitalis, John bishop of Rochester, and a host of other worthies; this was followed by the destruction of *nearly* all that was beautiful, sacred and religious in art, as well as whatever afforded the *least* prospect of spoil.

We will now turn our attention to that deed of blood represented by the painting. (See plate 5.) In the beginning of December in the year 1170, England saw again her primate, after an exile of six years, entering his own metropolitan city amid the acclamations and the rejoicings of the people. The archbishop, on reaching the chapter-house of his cathedral, preached to the assembled monks and clergy on the text chosen no doubt in allusion to his coming martyrdom: "Here we have no abiding city, but we seek one to come".² The archbishop had had a revelation of his martyrdom at Pontigni. It is said, whilst he was there praying before the altar of the church, he heard a voice saying distinctly, "Thomas, Thomas, my church

¹ What was left undone at this time no doubt was completed in A.D. 1542, when the king commanded that all the missals, office books, etc., should be "newly examined and castigated from all manner of mention of the bishop of Rome's name, etc., etc." Commissioners were sent all over the country to carry out this injunction; and so effectually was this done, that we have never met with a single instance of an example that escaped this decree. The popes were quietly left to the enjoyment of their saintly honours and names in the calendar, etc., with only the word "PAPA" carefully obliterated. But as regards St. Thomas of Canterbury, an erasure only tells where once his name existed.

² Fitzstephen, p. 283.

shall be glorified in thy blood". He wept on taking leave of the monks at Pontigni. The abbot thought his tears the effect of natural tenderness. But Becket called him aside, and bidding him not to discover it before his death, told him, he wept for those that followed him, who would be scattered like sheep without a pastor; for God had shown to him the night before that he should be slain by four men in his church, whom he saw enter it, and take off the top part of his head. Another recorded instance occurred, when the archbishop stopped in the neighbourhood of St. Alban's, on his intended journey to the young king at Woodstock. Simon, the abbot of St. Alban's, entreated the archbishop to honour the abbey of St. Alban's with his presence at Christmas. Becket replied with gushing tears, "Oh! how willingly would I do so, but far otherwise is decreed; go in peace, beloved father abbot; go to your sanctuary, which may God have in his keeping; *but I am going to what will be a sufficient reason for my not coming to you.*"¹ On Christmas day the archbishop celebrated high mass in his cathedral, but previously mounted the pulpit, and preached from the text: "On earth, peace to men of good will." He began by speaking of the sainted fathers of the church of Canterbury, some ranking with the glorious line of confessors, their bones doubly hallowing the very ground on which they were standing. He told them, one martyred archbishop they had already in St. Elphege, and it was possible they would shortly have another.² After the conclusion of the sermon, he excommunicated Nigel de Sackville, who had violently seized on the church of Herges, and Robert de Broc, the vicar of the same church, who, in derision of the archbishop, had maimed one of his horses loaded with provisions; and, as he came down from the pulpit to proceed to the high altar, he repeated to his cross-bearer the prophetic words: "One martyr, St. Elphege, you have already—another, if God will, you will soon have."³ On the next day, Saturday, the feast of St. Stephen the first martyr, and on Sunday, the feast of St. John the Evangelist, the archbishop celebrated the high mass.⁴ In the evening he sent privately away, with messages to the king

¹ Matt. Paris.³ Garnier, 75.² Fitzstephen, p. 292.⁴ Fitzstephen, p. 292.

of France and the archbishop of Sens, his friend Herbert de Bosham and Alexander his Welsh cross-bearer, telling them that they would not see him again. The archbishop also sent a third messenger, Gilbert de Glanville, to his holiness the pope, and two others to the bishop of Norwich, with a letter relating to the earl of Norfolk. He then drew up a deed appointing William his priest to the chapelry of Penhurst, with an excommunication against any one who should take it from him.¹ These are the last recorded public acts of the archbishop.

On the fatal day, the fifth after Christmas, being Tuesday 29th of December, he heard mass in his cathedral, then passed a long time in the chapter house, making with great contrition his confession to two of the monks, and then received, as appears to have been his custom, three scourgings.² The dinner, which took place in the great hall of his palace at three o'clock in the afternoon, being over, and the grace sang, the archbishop retired to his private room, where he sat on his bed talking to his friends,³ among whom were his faithful counsellor John archdeacon of Salisbury, William Fitzstephen his chaplain, and Edward Grim, a Saxon monk of Cambridge, when William Fitz Nigel, the seneschal, came to the apartment, and addressing the archbishop, "My lord," said he, "here are four knights from king Henry wishing to speak to you."⁴ "Let them come in," he replied. Then the four knights, William de Tracy, Reginald Fitz-Urse, Hugh de Morville, and Richard de Brito, appeared, and without saying a word, sat down on the floor in front of the archbishop, who continued his conversation with the monk who was sitting at his side. Becket afterwards turning round, gazed on each of the conspirators in silence, which he broke by saluting Tracy by name, when Fitz-Urse exclaimed: "We have a message for you from the king over the water—tell us whether you will hear it in private, or in the hearing of all?"⁵ "As you wish," said the primate. "Nay, as you wish," said Fitz-Urse. "Nay, as you wish," repeated the archbishop. The monks then left the room, but were almost immediately recalled by the archbishop, who became suddenly alarmed, and evidently not without

¹ Fitzstephen, p. 293.

² Anon. Lambeth., p. 121.

³ Grim, 70; Roger de Pontigny, 161. ⁴ Grim, 70. ⁵ Ibid., 70; Roger, 161.

reason; for the knights afterwards confessed that during these few moments they thought of killing him with the crozier that lay at his feet, the only weapon within their reach.¹ Fitz-Urse commanded him in the king's name to restore the suspended bishops, and absolve those whom he had excommunicated. To this the archbishop replied, he could not absolve the bishops from the sentence of his superior; no man could annul a decision of the holy apostolic see, "and for that absolution you must go to the pope; and as for those whom I have excommunicated, if they make the submission and satisfaction required by the laws of the church, I will absolve them, but otherwise I cannot." Threats were then used, when the archbishop rose from his couch, and exclaimed: "You threaten me in vain; were all the swords of England hanging over my head, you would not terrify me from my obedience to God and to my lord the pope."² Foot to foot shall you find me fighting the battle of the Lord.³ Once I gave way.⁴ I returned to my obedience to the pope, and will never more desert it. Besides, you know what there is between me and you.⁵ I wonder the more you should threaten the archbishop in his own house." The knights then ordering his attendants not to allow him to escape, the archbishop replied: "I shall not escape." They then laid violent hands on William Fitz Nigel, and attempted to drag him out of the apartment. He cried out to the archbishop, "You see what they are doing with me." "I see," replied the prelate, "this is their hour and the power of darkness."⁶ The knights seized another soldier, Radulph Morin, and passed through the hall and court crying "To arms! to arms! king's men, king's men!" and instantly closed the great gate of the palace to cut off communication with the town. The knights then throwing off their capes and coats in the garden, appeared vested in their armour, and buckled on their swords; excepting Fitz-Urse, who armed himself in the porch. Osbert and Algar, two of the servants of the archbishop, barred the doors of the hall, which the knights

¹ Grim, 71; Roger, 162.

² Roger, 163; Benedict, abbot of Peterborough, 61.

³ Fitzstephen, 296; Benedict, 61.

⁴ His signing the decrees of the council of Northampton. For which act Edward Grim ventured to reproach him.

⁵ Fitz-Urse, Morville, and Tracy, having taken the oath of fealty to him when chancellor.

⁶ Fitzstephen, p. 297.

vainly endeavoured to force open.¹ But Robert de Broc, who was well acquainted with the palace, led them round by the orchard, and here they succeeded in forcing an entrance through a window.

In the meanwhile the archbishop resumed his usual calmness, reseated himself on his couch, and entered into conversation with John of Salisbury. Presently one of the monks rushed in, to announce that the knights were arming. "Let them arm," said the archbishop. Danger was soon known to be close at hand, by the violent assault on the hall door, and soon after by the crash of the wooden partition in the passage from the orchard. The monks now fled, leaving only a small body of his intimate friends or faithful attendants. These united in intreating him to take refuge in the church, urging that it was five o'clock, and vesper time, and that his duty called him to attend the service.² At last yielding to their request, he arose and moved; but, perceiving that his crozier was not as usual borne before him, he stopped and called for it.³ His proper cross-bearer having been sent to France two days before, it was carried by one of his clerks, Henry of Auxere.⁴ Finding the usual passage to the cathedral and the court and orchard filled with armed men, they were obliged to pass through a private door of the palace leading to the cloisters. His friends now seemed to have no other thoughts, but to reach the church in safety with their beloved prelate. But the archbishop moved slowly along, as if in solemn procession, and as they urged him forward, he paused, and repeatedly asked what they feared.⁵ He walked firmly on, with his cross-bearer and the monks before him. One of the alarmed ecclesiastics suddenly cried out, "Seize him and carry him!" a struggle commenced between his terrified attendants, and he was borne resistingly along the southern and eastern cloisters till they reached the door of the lower north transept. The monks were singing vespers in the choir, and two boys rushed wildly up the nave, announcing that soldiers were bursting into the palace and monastery.⁶ Instantly the cathedral was thrown into the utmost confusion; some remained at

¹ Fitzstephen, 298; Benedict, 61.

³ Fitzstephen, 299; Benedict, 64.

⁵ Roger, 166; Grim, 73.

⁶ William of Canterbury, 32; and MS. Winton College.

² Fitzstephen, 299.

⁴ Fitzstephen, 299.

prayer, others sought hiding places, while a part of them went down to the north transept to meet the little band at the door.¹ "Come in, come in!" exclaimed one of them, "come in, and let us die together." The archbishop continued to stand outside, and said, "Go and finish vespers. So long as you keep at the entrance, I shall not come in." They then retired, and he stepped within the door, and seeing the place filled with people, he asked, "What is it these people fear?" one general answer burst forth, "The armed men in the cloister." He turned and said, "I shall go out to them;" but the monks regardless of all remonstrances closed the great door of the cathedral, and began to barricade it with iron bars.² Those who had been endeavouring to prevent the knights effecting an entrance into the cloisters, now rushed to take refuge in the church, and commenced knocking at the door.³ The archbishop who had moved a little way into the building returned instantly to the door, and told them, "By the virtue of your obedience I command you not to shut the door—the church must not be turned into a castle." With his own hands he reopened the door, and catching hold of the excluded monks dragged them in, exclaiming, "Come in, come in,—faster, faster!"⁴ All his attendants now fled on every side, with the exception of four, Robert, the canon of Merton, William Fitzstephen, Edward Grim the Saxon monk,⁵ and another clerk.⁶ They endeavoured to persuade the archbishop to conceal himself in the crypt or one of the numerous recesses of the building; but he positively refused. They then urged him to go into the choir, and hurried him up one of the two flights of steps which led to it.⁷ At this moment the knights entered the transept; and as it was now becoming dark, they could only just perceive a group of figures ascending the steps. One of the knights shouted out, "Where is Thomas Becket, the traitor to the king?" no answer was returned. Fitz-Urse rushing forward exclaimed, "Where is the archbishop?" He instantly turned round, and confronting his enemies replied, "Reginald, here I am; no traitor, but the archbishop and priest of God; what do you wish?" And with that courage

¹ Benediet, 64.² *Ibid.*, 65.³ Those within the church thought it was the knights who were at the door.⁴ Benediet, 65.⁵ Fitzstephen, 301.⁶ The author of the Lambeth MS.⁷ Roger, 166.

which he retained throughout, he immediately descended again to the transept and took up his station between the central pillar and the wall, which still forms the south-west corner of the chapel of St. Benedict.¹ The four knights, who were now joined by a military sub-deacon, Hugh of Horsea, here gathered round him, and demanded the absolution of the excommunicated prelates. "I cannot do more than I have done," he replied; and turning to Fitz-Urse he added, "Reginald, many favours you have received at my hands: why do you come into my church armed?"² Fitz-Urse answered, "You shall die,—I will tear your heart out."³ "In the name of Christ," he replied, "and in defence of the church I am ready to die, but I forbid you, in the name of Almighty God, to hurt any of my religious, clergy or people." The knights, not wishing to murder him in the church, attempted to drag him out, but the archbishop placing his back against the pillar, resisted with all his might, and threw Tracy, who had laid hold of him, violently down upon the pavement to compel him to relinquish his hold: whilst his faithful and now only attendant,⁴ Edward Grim, cast his arms around him to aid his efforts. Fitz-Urse struck off the prelate's cap with his sword. The archbishop then, covering his eyes with his joined hands, bent his neck and said: "I commend myself and the cause of the church to God, to the Blessed Mary, to St. Denys, to St. Elphege, and to the saints of the church."⁵ Tracy with his sword now aimed a blow at the archbishop's head; but Grim raised his own arm to intercept the blade; but he exclaimed, "Spare this defence." The monk's arm was broken,⁶ and the spent force of the blow descended on the primate's head, from thence to the shoulder, cutting through the clothes to the skin.⁷ Fitz-Urse now struck a blow on the bleeding head; the archbishop raised his clasped hands above his head, wiping off with the arm the blood that trickled down his face, and said—"Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit." At the third blow, which was given by Tracy, he sank on his knees, his arms fell, but his hands were joined as if in prayer, and with his face turned

¹ Fitzstephen, 302; Roger, 166.

² MS. Winton College; Grim, 76; Roger, 167; John Salis., 376.

³ Grim, 79.

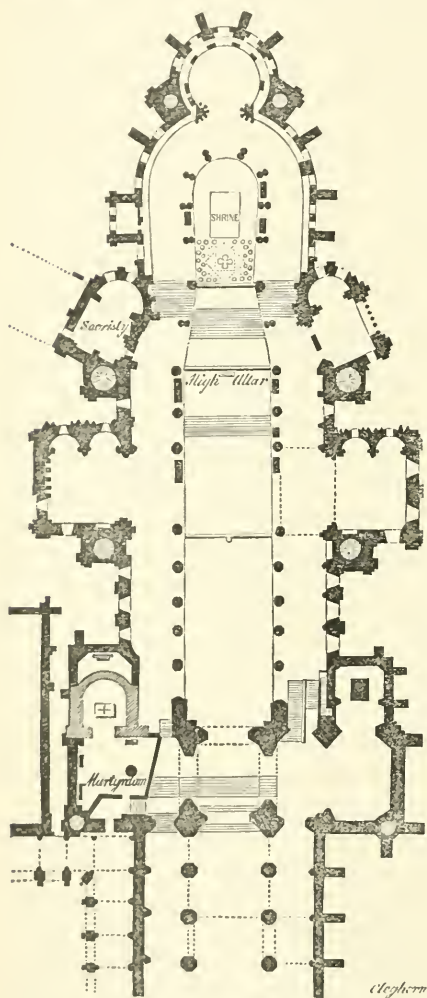
⁵ MS. Wint. Coll.; Grim, 76; Roger, 167; John Salis., 376.

⁶ Tracy thought it was John of Salisbury whose arm he broke. (MS. Wint. Coll.)

⁷ William of Cant., 32.

towards the altar of St. Benedict, he murmured in a low voice, which was caught by the wounded Grim, "For the name of Jesus and in defence of the church I am willing to die,"¹ saying this he fell flat, without moving hand or foot, with such dignity that his mantle, which reached from head to foot, was not disarranged. Richard de Brito then,

with an exclamation, "Take this for the love of my lord William brother of the king,"² gave a tremendous stroke that severed the crown of the head from the skull, and the sword descended with such violence on the marble pavement, that it was broken.³ The martyr still breathed, and Hugh of Horsea, planting his foot on the neck, scattered with his sword the brains over the pavement, and exclaimed: "Let us go! Let us go; he will rise no more."⁴ Hugh de Morville was the only knight of the four that struck no blow, but guarded the entrance of the transept, to prevent the coming in of the crowd that thronged the nave of the cathedral. Thus fell England's primate beneath the swords of the impious. That part of his cathedral



church wherein he perished, was afterwards walled off, as shewn in the annexed plan, and from that time even to

¹ Grim, 66.

² In allusion to a quarrel of the archbishop with prince William.

³ Benedict, 66.

⁴ Fitzstephen, 303; Roger, 168; Benedict, 67.

this day called *THE MARTYRDOM*. The following verses were inscribed on the door of the entrance :—

“Est sacer intra locus, venerabilis atque beatus
Presul ubi Sanctus Thomas est martyrizatus.”

This partition was removed in 1734, in consequence of its foundations having given away from interments (see woodcut, p. 62). The ancient apse, represented in the plan, was removed in 1449.¹ In the centre of it is the altar of St. Benedict that has been alluded to. At the time of Becket, the steps leading to the choir from this transept resembled those still existing in the south transept, which is much in its original state.

Many remarkable coincidences may be observed in this martyrdom, says Roger de Wendover.² “First, that he suffered in asserting justice and maintaining the liberties of the church; secondly, that the place of his suffering was not an ordinary church, but the mother of all the English churches; thirdly, the time was Christmas when these murderers completed their act of treason; fourthly, that he was not a common priest, but the chief and father of all the priests in England; and, fifthly, that he suffered, not in one of his ordinary members, but on the place where he had received the tonsure of priesthood, and where he was anointed with the holy oil that consecrated him to the Lord.”

We will now turn our attention to this scene as represented in the painting (see plate 5). The archbishop is depicted in a stooping posture, with one knee nearly resting on the pavement; his head is bent down. His right hand points to the murderers, and a book is held in the other hand. He wears a red tunic with tight sleeves; over this a grey mantle lined with vair. The blue sandals on his feet are ornamented with a cross; on the pavement is lying the prelate's cap. Behind the archbishop is the altar, with his mitre placed on it; and at the side stands Edward Grim, wearing the dark Benedictine habit, holding in his right hand the archiepiscopal crozier. The four knights are clothed in complete chain armour, wearing surcoats; and each with a shield, charged with arms, as

¹ Notes to Erasmus' "Pilgrimage," by John Gough Nichols, F.S.A.

² Edited by Dr. Giles, vol. ii, p. 19.

well as the surcoats, two being of a heater shape, and two of a concave shape. The foremost of the knights is William de Tracy, whose surcoat and shield are emblazoned with his well-known arms, *or*, two bends or bendlets, *gules*; his sword is pushed back by the faithful cross-bearer. The next knight has the arms attributed to Hugh de Morville, *azure*, fretty with a fleur-de-lys in each fret, *argent*. This figure is no doubt intended for Reginald Fitz-Urse; his sword is apparently resting on the shoulder of the prelate. The third knight is Richard de Brito, having with his sword just severed the head of the archbishop; the arms given on his shield and surcoat are *argent*, semée of crescents, *pur*. The fourth knight, intended for Hugh de Morville, is represented unsheathing his sword, and standing just within the open gates, depicted no doubt in allusion to the archbishop's saying, the church was not to be fortified as a castle. The arms borne by this knight are *gules*, semée of roundels, *argent*, and ought to have been probably those of the second knight, unless in their hurry when arming they had taken the wrong shield and surcoat. These two last armorial bearings are worthy of notice, being different from those hitherto met with, and more in accordance with the date than those bearings assigned to them, viz., Fitz-Urse, two bears passant in pale; Brito, three bears' heads muzzled; these coats being evidently of a later date than this painting. The feet of the knights are armed with the pryck-spur. An angel, issuing out of the clouds, is represented receiving the soul of the dying martyr, under the form of a dove. It was not unusual to depict the soul thus. St. Scholastica's is always thus painted; a dove having been seen ascending at her death by her brother St. Benedict. In the summer of 1852 some paintings were discovered at Limpenhoe church, Norfolk, in one of which, the martyrdom of St. Catherine, a dove was represented ascending, to typify the soul's ascent to Heaven. Above the heads of the knights and cross-bearer is depicted the roof of the cathedral, which is not without its interest. The gable end over the entrance bears the characteristics of the Norman architecture.

Immediately after the murder a tremendous thunder-storm and torrents of rain burst over the city. The knights ransacked the palace, plundering the gold and

silver vases, the vestments, sacred vessels, furniture and books, even the horses in the stables.¹ Two thousand marks in value is Fitzstephen's estimate of this plunder. The doors of the cathedral were at length closed, but the body of the archbishop still remained where he had fallen, entirely deserted. But night having closed in, Osbert, his chamberlain, tore up his own shirt to bind the mangled head.² And the monks returned to the church, and spent the night in an agony of grief and in prayer; all were struck by the calmness and beauty of the countenance; a smile seemed to play on the features, the colour of the cheeks was fresh, and the eyes were closed as if in sleep.³ Lying near the body were found the broken fragments of de Brito's sword and the archbishop's cap. As the morning dawned, they tied up the head with a linen cloth, and fastened the cap over it; and placing the body on a bier, they bore it through the choir to the high altar, where they laid it down. The monks now sat weeping round it;⁴ and it is said, they saw their departed prelate slowly raise his right arm, and make the sign of the cross, as if to bless his faithful followers.⁵ The aged canon of Merton, the martyr's chaplain and confessor from the day of his ordination, as well as his earliest friend and instructor, consoled them by a narration of the austere life of him who *was* their archbishop, which was known only to himself as his confessor and to Brun the valet. He dwelt on his piety and sincerity, and thrusting his hands beneath the garments, showed them the Benedictine habit and the hair shirt which he wore unknown to them.⁶ Arnold, a monk of the church and a worker in gold, and some other monks, now returned to the transept, and carefully collected the blood and brains into a bason, and placed benches over the spot to prevent its being trod upon.⁷

Early in the morning of Wednesday came a rumour that Robert de Broc was preparing to drag the body from the church that it might be devoured by dogs.⁸ The monks instantly closed all the doors of the cathedral, and determined to bury it with all possible speed in the ancient

¹ Fitzstephen, 305; Roger, 168.

³ Will. Cant., 33.

⁵ Anon. Passio Tertia, 156.

⁷ Will. Fitzstephen, 309.

² Ibid., 307.

⁴ Roger, 168.

⁶ Will. Fitzstephen, 308.

⁸ Benedict, 69.

crypt. Assisted by the abbot of Boxley and the prior of Dover,¹ slowly and solemnly they carried him to the crypt, chanting the Requiem and office for the dead; and the voices, it is said, of angels were heard singing a loud and harmonious "*Lætabitur justus*",—the beginning of the service for martyrs; the monks stopped their mournful chant in amaze; then, as if inspired, they took up the angelic strain, and thus the heavenly and earthly voices joined together, in the hymn of praise and triumph. The body was not washed; the hair cloth shirt, which was found to encase the entire body down to the knees, was covered outside with linen, as well as the hair drawers, that it might escape observation; over this they put the dress, in which he was ordained, and which he had himself kept on purpose—namely, the albe, the amice, chrismatic, stole and maniple; over this the insignia of his rank,—the tunic, dalmatic, chasuble, the pall with its pins, the gloves, the ring, the mitre, the chalice, the sandals, and the pastoral staff.² Thus arrayed they laid him in a new marble sarcophagus, which stood at the back of the shrine of the Blessed Virgin, between the altars of St. Augustine and St. John the Baptist:—no mass was celebrated for him.³ The doors of the crypt were then closed against all entrance.⁴

After the death of the archbishop all divine offices ceased in the cathedral of Canterbury; the pavement was torn up, the bells ceased to ring, the walls and altars were stripped of their ornaments, and the crucifixes were veiled, as if in Passion week. The services, in the mean time, were performed in the Chapter House.⁵ The arrival of the papal legates in England, to hold their court of inquiry, enabled the prior and monks to have the church reconsecrated on the 21st of December, 1171. Two years afterwards, the archbishop was canonized by pope Alexander the Third, March 13th, 1173. Legates had been previously sent from Rome to investigate the miracles, and they carried back with them a piece of the marble pavement, stained with the blood and brains of the martyr, the tunic stained with blood, and a portion of the brains: these relics were deposited in the basilica of Sta. Maria Maggiore. The piece of marble has disappeared; but fragments of the

¹ Will. Fitzstephen, 309.

² Ibid., 310; John Salis., 339.

⁴ Gervase Chron.

² Ibid., 309.

⁵ Ibid., 1417.

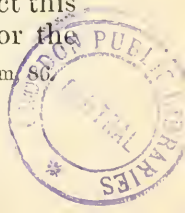
tunic, and a part of the brain, tied up in small blue bags, are still preserved in the treasury of this church. In the council held at Westminster, July 9th, 1173, letters were read from the pope containing, besides other matters, these words: "We admonish all your fraternity, and by our apostolic authority strictly command you, to celebrate every year the day of the glorious martyr Thomas, namely, the day on which he suffered, and endeavour by votive prayers to him, to obtain pardon for your sins, that he, who for Christ's sake bravely endured exile during his life and martyrdom in death, may intercede to God for us, through the earnest supplications of the faithful."¹

King Henry II visited the tomb of St. Thomas, on the 12th of July, 1174, as an humble penitent, and after remaining some time before it in prayer, made his confession and received absolution from the bishops present, and the kiss of reconciliation from the prior. The king then received on his bare shoulders five lashes from each bishop and abbot present, and three from each of the eighty monks.² The king then resumed his garments, and made his offerings at the tomb. In 1176, King Henry paid another visit, accompanied by his son Henry, offered up his prayers at the tomb, and presented a charter of privileges to the church. Three years afterwards, Louis the VII, king of France, came to pay a visit to the martyr, and was received by king Henry at Dover; and both kings were solemnly received by the archbishop, bishops, and a numerous body of ecclesiastics and barons, and were solemnly conducted to the tomb. The king of France remained three days at Canterbury, making an offering of his golden cup and a hundred measures of wine yearly; also probably the jewel called the "regal of France."

The next great event connected with this martyr was the translation of his body, on the 7th of July, 1220. The body was taken out of its marble tomb by Stephen Langton, the cardinal archbishop of Canterbury, in the presence of king Henry the third, and almost all the bishops, abbots, priors, earls and barons of the kingdom, and a large concourse of foreign ecclesiastics and nobility: "for they considered it a most proper duty to honour and respect this holy martyr in Christ's cause, who shed his blood for the

¹ Wendover's Hist., vol. ii, p. 24.

² Grim. 86.

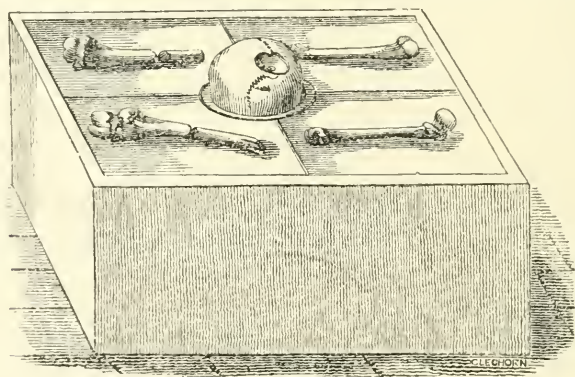


universal church, and had unflinchingly fought for it to the last."¹ The body was placed with due honour in the rich shrine, elaborately worked with gold and jewels, that had been prepared for it, in the upper part of the church; and in the centre of the chapel, as shewn in the plan. From that time this day was solemnly kept as the Feast of the Translation of St. Thomas of Canterbury. And every fifty years was a jubilee, which took place in the years 1270, 1320, 1370, 1420, 1470 and 1520.

The scene of his martyrdom became a place of pilgrimage to all nations:—

“ And specially, from every schire’s ende
Of Engelande, to Canturbere they wende,
The holy blissful martir for to seke,
That them hath holpen whan that they were secke.”²

In the following century the head of the martyr appears to have been removed from the shrine and deposited in the crypt, probably near the marble tomb. It was set in silver, with the forehead left bare, to be kissed, and appears to have been exhibited on a square table, together with bones, as shown in the accompanying cut, copied from



the same page of the Cottonian manuscript, as the shrine described hereafter. On an altar dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, erected in the transept after the martyrdom of the saint, was preserved the point of de Brito's sword, which inflicted the death-wound, and was broken on the spot by striking the pavement. Erasmus mentions his "religiously

¹ Roger de Wendover, 428.

² Chaucer.

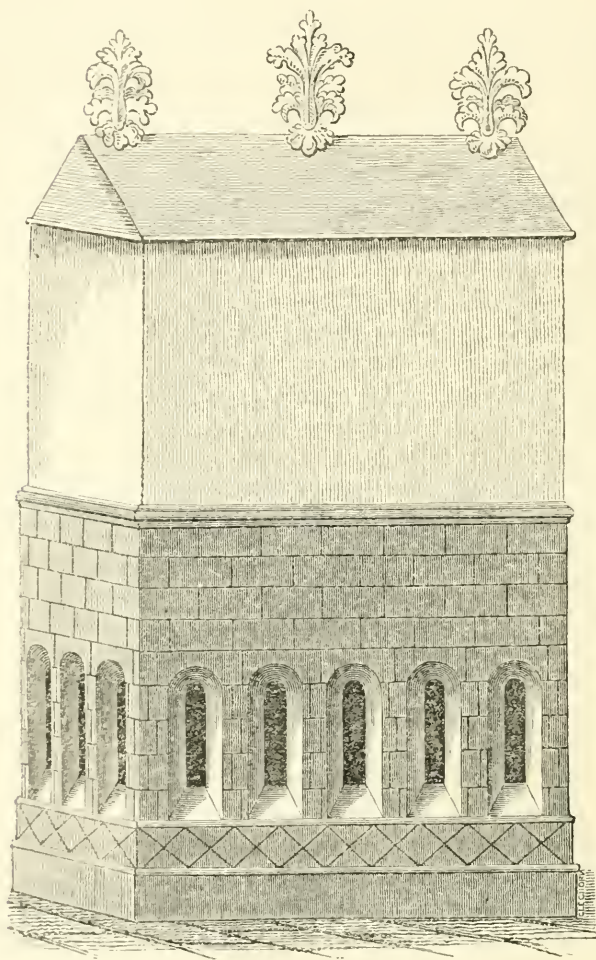
kissing, through the love of the martyr, the sacred rust of this iron."

The destruction of the magnificent and gorgeous shrine by the order of Henry VIII appears to have taken place on the 19th of August, 1538. The spoils in gold and jewels were forthwith converted to the king's use, whilst the bones were burnt and the ashes cast into the Thames. The description of this shrine by a Venetian who visited it, about the year 1500, will give some idea of its value and magnificence, and will be highly interesting at the same time, being the best description preserved of this shrine:—"The tomb of St. Thomas the martyr archbishop of Canterbury exceeds all belief. Notwithstanding its great size, it is all covered with plates of pure gold; yet the gold is scarcely seen, because it is covered with various precious stones, as sapphires, balasses, diamonds, rubies and emeralds; and wherever the eye turns something more beautiful than the rest is observed. Nor, in addition to these natural beauties, is the skill of art wanting; for in the midst of the gold are the most beautiful sculptured gems, both small and large, as well as such as are in relief, as agates, onyxes, cornelians, and cameos; and some cameos are of such size, that I am afraid to name it; but every thing is far surpassed by a ruby, not larger than a thumb nail, which is fixed at the right of the altar. The church is somewhat dark, and particularly in the spot where the shrine is placed, and when we went to see it, the sun was near setting, and the weather was cloudy; nevertheless I saw that ruby as if I had it in my hand. They say it was given by a king of France."¹

The accompanying engraving of the shrine is taken from a pen and ink sketch on folio 296 of the Cottonian manuscript, marked Tib. E. viii. At the side of the sketch is a written description of it in English, partially burnt away by the Cottonian fire; this description, so far as can be ascertained from the manuscript, was to this effect. "All above the stone worke was first of wood, jewells of gold set with stones . . . wrought upon with gold wier. They agayn with jewells of gold, as broches, images of angels and rings ten or twelve together, cramped with gold into the ground of gold. The spoils of which filled two chests,

¹ A Relation of England under Henry VII. Published by the Camden Society.

such as six or eight men could but convey out of the church. At one side was a stone with an angel of gold pointing thereunto, offered there by a king of France:¹



which king Henry put into a ring, and wear it on his thumb."¹ Memoranda are also written against the three finials on the crest of the shrine, stating that they were of silver gilt, the central one weighing eighty ounces, and the other two sixty ounces each. Stowe mentions in his chro-

¹ The ruby previously alluded to, and called the Regall of France. It was afterwards transferred to a collar, and was among the jewels delivered to queen Mary, March 10, 1554.

nicle, that this shrine was builded about a man's height all of stone, then upwards of timber, etc., and apparently follows the description given in the above manuscript.

Besides the decorations of the shrine itself, around it were hung numerous costly offerings, consisting of gold chalices, cups and crucifixes, rings of gold and silver, set with precious stones, gold and silver statues; several of these offerings were the gift of sovereign princes. King Henry VII ordered his executors to cause to be made a kneeling statue of himself of silver gilt, inscribed *Sancti Thoma, intercede pro me*. The same to be offered for a perpetual memorial at the shrine of St. Thomas, in the metropolitan church of Canterbury, and to be placed as near the said shrine as convenient; and on the two sides of the table whereon the figure knelt were to be inscribed, with large letters and enamelled in black, "*REX HENRICUS SEPTIMUS*." Among the treasures of the shrine of St. Edward the Confessor in Westminster abbey, was a statue in ivory of the Blessed Virgin, an offering made by St. Thomas while archbishop of Canterbury.

In Canterbury cathedral, till the Reformation, there were preserved and kept, in a large ivory coffer, the white mitre with orfreys in which he was buried; another white mitre which he used on ordinary feasts; his gloves, adorned with three orfreys; his sandals of purple silk, embroidered with roses, bezants, and crescents of gold; his hair shirt, and remains or fragments of the different vestments in which he was buried. His pallium was likewise preserved in a silver-gilt cup, and his pastoral staff of pear-wood with the crook formed of black horn.

There are still preserved in the treasury of the cathedral of Sens some of the robes, etc., worn by St. Thomas of Canterbury while in exile; a portion of them have been beautifully engraved in Mr. Shaw's *Dresses and Decorations of the Middle Ages*, and are certainly of great interest, not only to those who regard the saintly personage who wore them, but even to those who look to the mere antique. The following is a list of these ornaments:—

1. A mitre, having a ground of silver tissue, ornamented with elegant scroll work in gold, and orphreys of gold tissue, ornamented with fyfots. An engraving of it is given by Shaw.

2. Another mitre, now in the possession of his eminence cardinal Wiseman.¹

3. The ruins of a chasuble ; consisting of its lining with embroidery, and strips of narrow gold lace, as may be seen in two small woodcuts given by Shaw, as well as a plate representing the elegant scroll work still remaining on the back of the vestment. The silk of which the chasuble was composed is almost entirely gone.

4. An apparel for an amice, beautifully embroidered in gold, with colours alternately red, green and white, with hemispherical studs of silver.

5. Another apparel for an amice, embroidered with gold thread, having a chocolate-coloured ground, and with green and red colours round the borders. This apparel was given by the archbishop of Sens in 1842, along with the mitre before mentioned, to his eminence cardinal Wiseman ; and it is now in the possession of the rev. Dan. Henry Haigh. Both of these apparels are engraved by Shaw.

6. A stole and maniple, exactly corresponding with the first mentioned apparel. They have pear-shaped drops of silver instead of fringe at their ends.

7. An alb with its apparels, two for the wrists and two for the border, corresponding with the apparel now in England.

The earliest known representation of St. Thomas of Canterbury is executed in mosaics, in the church of St. Monreale, near Palermo, built by William the Good, king of Sicily, who began its erection in the very year St. Thomas was canonized. This king married princess Johanna of England, daughter of king Henry II, who arrived in Sicily in the year 1177. St. Thomas is represented standing colossal in his episcopal robes, with no emblem but his name inscribed ; evidently the work of Byzantine or Greek artists. In the church of Aquani are preserved a mitre and a cope, given by pope Innocent III, about the year 1200. The cope is worked with thirty-six scenes of sacred story, among them being the martyrdom of St. Thomas of Canterbury ; and on the mitre he is again represented. In the convent of the sisters of Notre Dame at Namur is a mitre which formerly belonged to the celebrated cardinal de Vitry, who died A.D. 1244. It is of white silk with

¹ A mitre belonging to St. Thomas was given to the church of Rochester by bishop Haymo de Hethe, 1327. See rev. Mr. Hugo's *Memoir of Gundulf*, in the *Journal*, vol. ix, p. 239.

gold embroidery; the martyrdom of this Canterbury saint occupies the whole of one side, and that of the deacon St. Laurence the other.

The few paintings of St. Thomas of Canterbury that have been preserved in this country are, we believe, in every instance of late date, which of course increases the interest of this example from St. John's church, which must be assigned to about the year 1280 or 85. The scene is very truthfully depicted; for this is frequently represented at variance with, and in opposition to, historical facts.¹ For instance, in the painting discovered in the church of the Holy Cross at Stratford-upon-Avon, the archbishop is represented celebrating mass, having his back turned to the murderers; the date of this example is not earlier than 1490. Last year, during the repairs of Stoke D'Aubernoun church, Surrey, were discovered remains of a painting which was supposed to have been intended for the martyrdom of this saint. A small painting representing this scene, painted on a panel, temp. of Henry V, is engraved in Carter's *Specimens of Ancient Painting and Sculpture*; it used formerly to hang over the tomb of Henry IV in Canterbury cathedral, where it is still preserved, as well as another painting of the same period, representing the penance of Henry II. Representations of the martyrdom were depicted on the archiepiscopal seals of several of the succeeding primates, and represented in various ways; on that of archbishop Boniface, 1257, no altar is given; on the seal of Robert Kilwarby, 1273, the altar is in the background, and St. Thomas has his back to it; on the seal of John Peckham, 1278, the altar is omitted. On the seal of Walter Reynolds, 1300 (given in the volume of the *Transactions* of the Association at Winchester Congress in 1845), the martyr has his back to the altar, and behind it is Edward Grim, holding the crozier; the four murderers are in chain armour, with long surcoats; around the seal is inscribed "AD CHRISTUM PRO ME SIT SEMPER PASSIO THOMÆ." On the seal of John Stratford, the archbishop kneels at the altar, with his back to his assailants; and this position is

¹ In the last year's exhibition at the Royal Academy was a painting, by J. Cross, of the martyrdom, and the archbishop is therein erroneously represented in eucharistic vestments, holding a cross in his hand.

retained on the seals of Islip, Langton, Arundel, etc. However different this event might be seen represented,



Seal of Walter Reynolds.

two circumstances connected with it are invariably observed, viz., Edward Grim is never omitted, and always depicted as the cross-bearer. Whether this is correct is doubtful. Though Henry of Auxere bore it in the procession, still it is possible when these attendants fled Grim might have taken it till the time when he threw his arm around the primate's neck. The second point is, that one of the four knights always has his sword still in its scabbard. On the brass of prior Nelond, at Cowfold, Sussex, A.D. 1433, is preserved a small though well-executed figure of St. Thomas of Canterbury in full pontificals, but without any emblem except his name.

The most beautiful figure of this saint perhaps that has been preserved in any church in this country is represented in the accompanying plate (see plate 6). This we denuded of its whitewash in the year 1845, and it was then well preserved, and had evidently been covered up, on purpose to



Francis Joseph Baigent, Del^r 1853.

Scale of one half.

ST. THOMAS OF CANTERBURY.

A PAINTING DISCOVERED AT STOKE CHARITY CHURCH.

HANTS. A. D. 1845.



prevent its being destroyed; in the same manner as the piece of sculpture found in this church (see vol. v, p. 13 of the *Journal*) was hid away in a hole made in the wall, the Wallers and Phelypes having kept firm to the ancient faith, amidst all trials and difficulties. The painting, which is engraved half the size of the original, is painted within a sunken panel in front of the Easter Sepulchre and tomb of John Waller, esq., in the chantry, Stoke Charity church, Hants.¹ In the corresponding panel was discovered at the same time a painting of our Blessed Lady and Child. St. Thomas of Canterbury, in this example, is represented holding in his right hand a sword, being an emblem of his martyrdom. The nimbus encircling his head is gilt, the mitre being white and its lining blue; the face is noble and dignified, with an expression of sternness, but still pleasing. It has been remarked, that those paintings which have come down to us of this saint, all seem to have been done from some original portrait; and in every instance he is represented beardless.² This painting, certainly, confirms this opinion in the strongest manner, from the features possessing such a peculiar character. The archbishop is represented in golden vestments, such as would be worn during the octave of the feast of our Lord's Nativity, the time of his martyrdom; the dalmatic, in accordance with the rubrics, is of a bright red colour with golden fringe; over the chasuble is depicted the metropolitan pallium ornamented with its five *patée fitchée* crosses, the two upper ones being probably pins. The sandal is of a bright blue colour with its cross in gold. His crozier, which is held in the left hand, is also gilt; with the exception of the staff, which is painted white, intended perhaps to indicate silver. We saw this painting a few weeks since, and found its condition far from satisfactory, the face and other parts being much injured: the same may be said of the other painting on this tomb.³

As another memorial of this saint, an engraving is given

¹ We have already given the inscription on this monument (see *Journal*, vol. ix, p. 435). This monument is evidently a few years older than the date given on the inscription.

² Mrs. Jameson's *Legends of Monastic Orders*.

³ This is not to be wondered at. The church has undergone that *barbarian* process of restoration. It was once one of the most interesting churches in the county, and is now nearly if not quite the reverse.

of his archiepiscopal seal; this is somewhat rare, being for



the first time engraved and published in Mr. John Gough Nichols' *Translations of Erasmus' Pilgrimage*.¹ The figure of the archbishop is somewhat tall, the mitre is worn with the points or horns above the ears; over the chasuble hangs an embroidered pall, with a fringe at its end; beneath the dalmatic appear the ends of the stole; the manipule hangs from the left arm. His right is in the attitude of benediction, and in the other hand is held the pastoral staff.

The person and manners of the archbishop, were interesting. Tall in stature, with a placid and handsome countenance, his figure pleased the eye; while his acute reasonings, his polished elocution, and facetious gaiety won the heart. His loftiness of mind, which was dignified and ceremonious with rank and power, softened into affability, gentleness, and liberality to his inferiors and to the necessitous.²

Previous to the Reformation, our countrymen looked upon St. Thomas of Canterbury as the patron of Tuesday, in consequence of some of the principal events of the saint's life having happened on that day. On a Tuesday he was born and baptized, on a Tuesday he had fled from Northampton, on a Tuesday he left England to go into exile, on a Tuesday he returned to England according to

¹ To the kindness of this gentleman we are indebted for the use of this as well as the three other woodcuts given in this paper. We have also availed ourselves of some of the interesting matter found in his notes connected with *Erasmus' Pilgrimage*.

² William Fitzstephen, p. 185.

the pope's mandate, and on a Tuesday he received the crown of martyrdom.¹ This may be seen in the following extract from the will of Katherine countess of Devon, sister to king Edward IV. It is also interesting as giving the service of the other days in the week. It is dated May 2nd, 1527, and directs respecting one of her foundations that "The seid pryst schall upon the Sonday say masse of the Trenyte; every Munday, masse of St. Katherine; every *Tuysday*, masse of *St. Thomas of Canterbury*; every Wednesday, masse of the fyve wonds; every Thursday, masse of Corporis Christi; every Friday, masse of the name of Jhesu; and every Saturday, masse of the Assumption of Our Lady."²

Of the numerous books given by William of Wykeham to his college at Winchester, only three³ are preserved. He left as legacy to this society in his will, "Item librum vocatum 'Catholicon.' Item librum vocatum 'Rationale Divinorum.' Item librum vocatum 'Florarium Bartholomæi.' Item librum de *Vita Sancti Thomæ*, vocatum *Thomas*. Item librum vocatum 'Pars Oculi.'" It seems almost miraculous that the life of St. Thomas should be the only *one* of these books preserved. This manuscript is entitled "Passio et Miracula gloriosi martyris Thomæ Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi." The short prologue begins "Quilibet p' modulo suo Tabernaculum Dominum, etc." The life commences "Beatus igitur Thomas ex Londoniarum, etc." The second book begins "Anno ab Incarnatione Domini m°. c.lxx. presidente Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ serenissimo Papa Alexandro, etc." The miracles are contained in six books. We are not in a position to decide who may be the author of this life; and can only say it corresponds with some of the fragments attributed to William of Canterbury, and with two para-

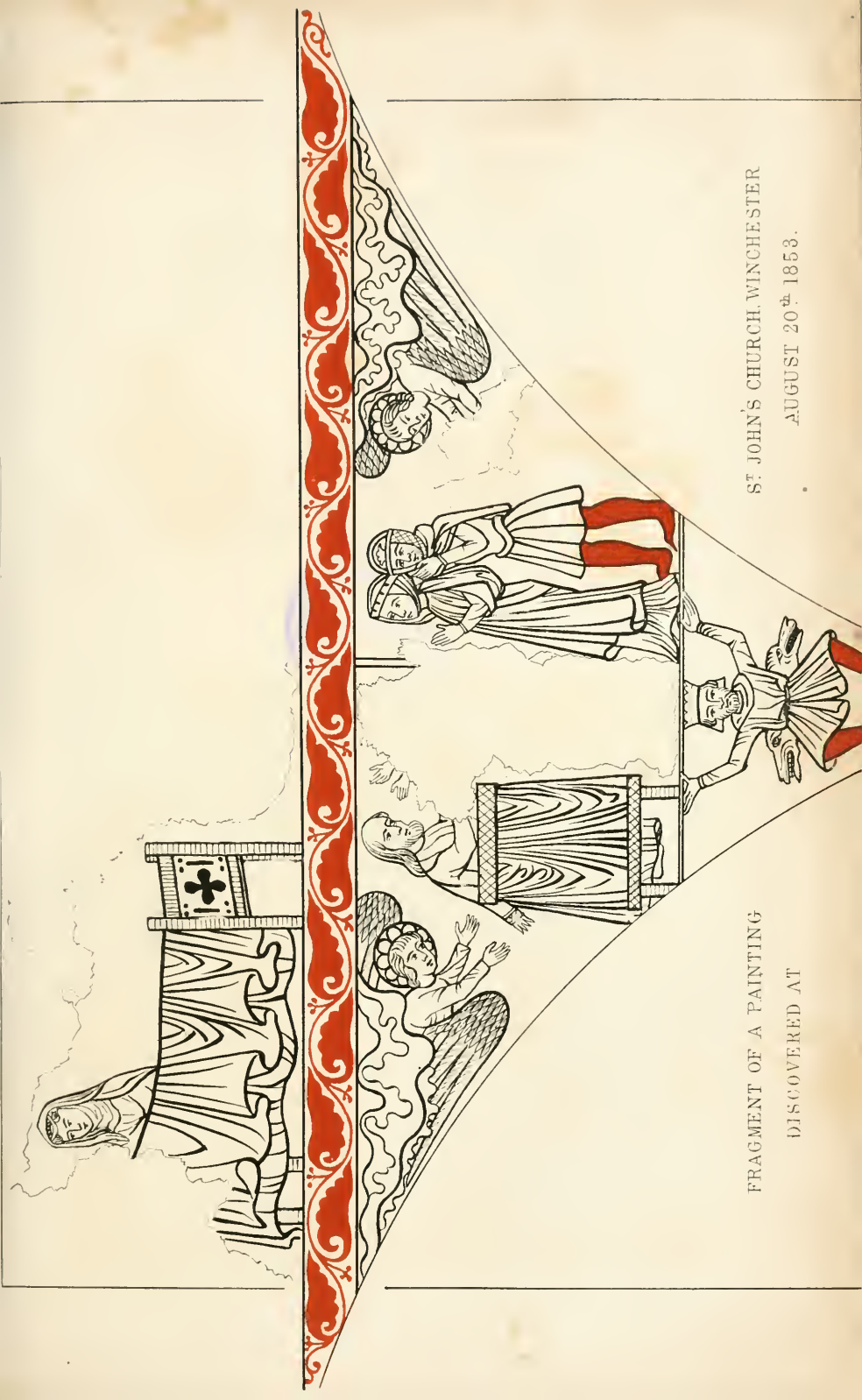
¹ Roger, p. 169; Wendover, vol. ii, p. 18.

² For this interesting document we are indebted to the researches of the rev. George Oliver, D.D., of Exeter.

³ One of these three is mentioned in vol. ix of the *Journal*, p. 433. The remaining manuscript is an ecclesiastical taxation of all the dioceses in England, and written between the years 1333 and 1345. This book, which did not come into the hands of the society till several years after the founder's death, is thus mentioned in the College Register. "Item 1 liber dat. Colleg. per Dñm Fundatorem, in quo continentur taxationes omnium ecclesiarum in singulis dioc. per totam Angliam. qui fuerat in custodia Johannis Exham Execut. Dñi. Thomæ Aylward; modo in manibus custodis." Dr. Aylward was rector of Havant, and one of William of Wykeham's executors. He died A.D. 1413.

graphs of Benedict, abbot of Peterborough. This manuscript is entered in the original list of books, under the head of "*Libri Morales, etc.*," thus—"Liber continens Vitam Sancti Thome Martiris, ex dono Dñi ffundatoris. 2º fol. neficiis, pret. xxs." Within the letter B commencing the life, is painted a figure of the archbishop in pontificals. This is the only illumination in the manuscript, excepting two or three initial letters.

The next painting on the same wall in St. John's church, or rather fragment, was a portion of a series depicting the seven corporal works of mercy (see plate 7). This series was divided by a border ornamented with large leaves in red, passing over the centre arches (forming the division from the nave of the church), terminating on one side with the rood-screen entrance, and continued up the side of this opening. The part preserved is painted on the portion of wall above the capital of the pillar, and between the arches, in the centre of the aisle. Below the border at each end is depicted an angel, descending from the clouds with open arms, to testify the divine favour and acceptance of these good deeds. Behind a table is represented an aged man, his head bald, and with long grey hair and beard; all that remain in front of the figure are the uplifted hands of a child. The aged man, no doubt, when the picture was perfect, was distributing food to some poor woman with a famished child, the child being held in the mother's arms, lifting up its hands in joy and gratitude. The two figures approaching have the appearance of travellers, supplicating for a lodging or shelter; just before them are the remains of a partition, which may have represented a wall or the door of a house. Thus are indicated the two merciful works of feeding the hungry, and harbouring the harbourless. Beneath is represented a sitting figure, introduced merely to support the picture; the animals' heads are probably meant for the projecting arms of a faldstool. The only fragment remaining above the border is intended to be the merciful work of visiting the sick, consisting of the remains of a bed and a person at its side; the head-dress of the figure shows it to be intended for a lady of rank. Three of the other works of mercy, no doubt, occupied the spaces of wall at the sides of this; whilst the remaining one filled the vacant piece of



ST JOHN'S CHURCH, WINCHESTER

AUGUST 20th 1853.

FRAGMENT OF A PAINTING
DISCOVERED AT





Francis Joseph Baigent, Del^t 1853.

Scale of one sixth of original

J.R. 1853



wall nearest the rood-screen below the border. A few indications of paintings were discernible on that piece of wall remaining to the west, showing that it was not unoccupied; while that part of the wall remaining between the painting of the martyrdom of St. Thomas of Canterbury and the rood-screen entrance was ornamented only with double lines, painted in red colour, and dividing it into quadrangular-shaped compartments, imitating as it were the joints of masonry work. Markings similar to these appear to have been the only decoration on the side wall of the nave of this church.

In the early part of the fifteenth century fresh decorations were added at the eastern end of this aisle, and the painting of the martyrdom of St. Thomas was covered over with a thin layer of lime, on which was painted a red ground, ornamented with the diaper pattern in white, given in plate 8, and apparently also with a few figures of saints; but owing to the friable and perishable condition of the plaster itself, with every possible care, we only succeeded in developing a small fragment, representing the head and shoulders of a youthful saint, painted with great care, and somewhat highly finished (see plate 8). This figure might, perhaps, have been intended for St. John the Evangelist. Adjoining, on the eastern wall, another fragment was found, and the figure fortunately perfect (see plate 9). The pattern, consisting of two leaves alternately reversed, ornamented the jambs of the window, forming a border round it. Close to this is as good and gracefully executed a figure as has yet been met with among the numerous discoveries of mural paintings in our old churches. The head is surrounded by a bright red-coloured nimbus. The hair is closely confined on either side of the face in a rich crespine or caul of network, and from the head a coverchef descends upon the shoulders; over the left shoulder hangs a flowing mantle, gathered up in folds beneath the right; in the hands is held an elegantly shaped flask or bottle. It is intended to represent St. Walburge, daughter of St. Richard, king of the West Saxons, who became a nun at Wimborne in Dorsetshire. After remaining twenty-seven years at Wimborne, she was sent, with other nuns, into Germany at the request of St. Boniface, and was appointed abbess of the convent founded

by her brothers, SS. Wilibald and Winebald, at Heidenheim in Suabia. She died on the 25th of February, A.D. 870, having held the office of abbess twenty-five years. St. Walburge is the titular saint of many of the churches in Germany, and was venerated all over England, France, and the Low Countries. She is usually represented with one or more oil flasks; but in the church of St. Columba at Cologne, she appears with one small vial in her hand, similar to that represented in this example from St. John's church. The only other discovery made in this aisle was a large (twenty-six inches in diameter) and elegantly shaped consecration cross, painted in red and within a circle (see plate 9). One of these was depicted on either side of a blocked-up doorway, discovered near the middle of the north wall of this aisle, and below the painting representing the crucifixion of our blessed Saviour. By the kindness of the very rev. provost Husenbeth, we are enabled to give a new elucidation to the figure represented on the right hand side of the cross in this painting (see plate 5, vol. ix, and p. 9). The figure represents one of the ancient prophets who are constantly depicted on glass, rood-screens, paintings, etc., with scrolls.¹ The painter intended to represent the precious blood of our blessed Saviour as flowing upon all, and shed for the salvation of all, of both the old and the new law. The prophet is probably Isaias, who so clearly foretold our Lord's passion; while the saints of the new law are represented by St. Francis, who so perfectly represented the sacred wounds in his own person, and was also no doubt selected by some devout Franciscan. Moreover, the idea is conveyed of both the old and the new law testifying to Christ crucified; the saints of the old saved by faith in his future passion, and those of the new by the same already endured for the salvation of all.

We will now proceed to the south aisle, which was only decorated with one solitary painting, though of a large size, representing the giant figure of St. Christopher carrying our infant Saviour. This was painted on the central

¹ These figures are often represented without a nimbus; see, for instance, the prophets depicted on the brass of abbot De La Mere in St. Alban's abbey church. These figures hold long scrolls in their hands. We mention this in consequence of the remark previously made respecting the absence of a nimbus in this figure.



Scale of
straight.



Diameter 26 Inches

ST. WALBURGE.

CONSECRATION CROSS.

Paintings discovered at St. John's Church, Winchester. August 2nd 1853

Paint by Joseph Bagnall. Oct. 1853.

R. Jobbins







Francis Joseph Bagent, Del^r 1853.

J.R Jobbins.

SAINT CHRISTOPHER.

A Painting discovered at St John's Church, Winchester. July 7th 1853.



Francis Joseph Baigent, Delt 1853

JRJobbins.

PAINTING ST JOHN'S CHURCH, WINCHESTER.



part of the south wall of the aisle, and reached from the ceiling to within a few feet of the ground or pavement.

This painting is evidently of the time of Edward the third, and was executed in a remarkably bold style of drawing, and upon the wall presented to the beholder an appearance which is not even conveyed in the carefully executed drawing (see plate 10). The figure of the saint was over fourteen feet in height, with limbs every way adapted for a wrestler, while the long flowing hair and beard gave him a degree of savage uncouthness. It told out with a strong contrast against its white background; and the accessories, as if to strengthen it, were only outlined in black. St. Christopher in this painting is simply robed in a short red tunic reaching only to the knees, with sleeves; the right hand cuff is turned back, and that of the left as far as the elbow; round the waist is fastened a belt or girdle, from which depends a piece of grey drapery. The infant Saviour is seated on the saint's right shoulder; the head is encircled with the crucial nimbus; the ground of it painted blue, and the cross red. Over the shoulders is a red mantle, which is represented as agitated by the wind; it is lined with grey; beneath this is a green tunic with tight sleeves, and fastened round the waist. In his left hand he holds the orb, surmounted by a cross; the orb is divided by a zone; the lower half representing water, but the upper portion is divided into earth and pasture land. The right hand is raised in the usual attitude. On both sides of the water, which reaches nearly to the knees of St. Christopher, are steep rocks; on those to the right is a chapel, having on one gable a bell-cot, hung for two bells; on the other end is a cross; below this is a quatrefoil opening, and beneath this a two-lighted window in the decorated style; the door, reaching nearly to the roof, is on the other side. Standing in front of the chapel close upon the edge of the rock, is an aged monk, with a long flowing beard, holding in his right hand a prodigious sized lanthorn, to light as it were the giant saint crossing the troubled waters; in the other hand is held a book, fastened with a clasp. In order to give a better idea of the great freedom and power manifested in this outline, it is represented on a larger scale (see plate 11).

St. Christopher appears to have been the most popular saint of mediæval times, and so many painted representations of him have been discovered throughout the length and breadth of this land, as far to outnumber those of any other saint. In the second volume of the *Journal*, p. 144, is given the legend of this saint, from Caxton's translations of the *Legenda Aurea*, by Jacobus de Voragine; and it is in accordance with this legend that the saint is here depicted, though no doubt it was intended to have been symbolical of the entire Christian profession. The rev. Alban Butler, in his life of this saint, says that "he seems to have taken the name of Christopher upon the like motive that St. Ignatius would be called Theophorus, to express his ardent love for his Redeemer, by which he always carried him in his breast, as his great and only good, his inestimable treasure, and the object of all his affections and desires; and that the origin of the notion of his great stature seems to have been merely allegorical, as Baronius observes, and as Vida has beautifully expressed in an epigram on this saint:—

"Christophore, infixum quod eum usque in corde gerebas,
Pictores Christum dant tibi ferre humeris," etc.

The festival of this saint is kept on the 25th of July, except by the Greeks and other oriental nations, who commemorate him on the 9th of May.

In the former paper on the paintings discovered in this church, mention was made of its being, previously to the Reformation, supported by confraternities, etc., and that the north aisle belonged to the guild of "our blessed Lady". This aisle (south) probably belonged to a similar confraternity in honour of St. Christopher. Numerous confraternities of this saint existed in different parts of England till the change of religion in the sixteenth century. In the church of Thame, Oxfordshire, is an altar tomb inlaid with the brass of Richard Quatremayns and Sibil his wife (date c. 1460): the inscription, running round the margin of the slab, records one of these foundations, and is as follows:—

"✠ O certeyn deth that hast over throw

Richard Quartremayns Squyer and Sibil his wife that lie here now full
lowe

That with rial princes of counsel was true and wise famed
To Richard Duke of York and after with his sonne Kyng Edward the
iiiith named

That foundid in the chirche of Thame a chauntrie vi. pore men and a
fraternity

In the worshipp of Seynt Cristofere to be relieved in perpetuyte
They that of ther almys for ther soulis a pater noster and ave devoutly
wul sey

Of holy fladurs is grantid they pardon of dayes forty alwey
Wiche Richard and Sibil oute of the worlde passid in the yere of owre
Lord

A. M^o. CCCCLX—Vppon their soules Jhesu have mercy. Amen."

There existed a celebrated confraternity of St. Christopher at York, to which the earl of Northumberland and his lady paid yearly six shillings and eight pence each. St. Christopher was the patron saint of Robert Fabian the chronicler. In his will, dated July 11, A.D. 1511, he says,—"And first I bequeath my soule to the infynite mercy of our Saviour Jhu Crist, and to the prayers tucion of his most blissed moder our lady seynt Mary, *blissed seynt Christoffer my advowry*, etc." This will contains two bequests to confraternities of St. Christopher: "*Also I bequeth unto the brotherhode of seynt Cristoffer of Yorke xld. Also I bequeth unto the brotherhode of seynt Cristoffer, holden within the parish church of seynt Mighell in Cornhill, xiiid.*"

These confraternities were the origin of the different companies that still exist in London, which are known by their several trades, and which used to assemble under the patronage of their particular saints; for instance:—The goldsmiths, St. Dunstan. The silversmiths, founders, blacksmiths, and cutlers had St. Eligius or Eloy; the carpenters and joiners had St. Joseph; the glaziers St. Mark; the barbers and surgeons SS. Cosmas and Damian; the bakers St. Honorius; the wax chandlers St. Nicholas; the farriers St. John the Baptist; the shoemakers St. Crispin; the drapers that of the Annunciation; the weavers St. Arregonde; the clothiers Our Lady; the silk-mereers Our Lady the Rich; the dyers St. Maurice; the embroiderers St. Clare; the weavers of tapestry St. Francis; the rope makers St. Paul; the paper makers and book-binders St. John of the Latin gate, etc., etc. In some places, however,

the fraternities chose a patron peculiar to themselves, or assembled under the name of some popular saint, on whose festival they had High Mass celebrated, with a sermon, and a procession, and afterwards a banquet. Particular days were appointed, each week, for devotional exercises in the church wherein the brotherhood assembled, and when any brother died, the rest assisted at his funeral, and the fraternity bore the expense. The members of all these fraternities were commanded to do the works of charity, to visit the hospitals, to assist widows and orphans to visit the sick and prisoners, ransom captives,¹ to bury the dead, and to found sermons for the instruction of the ignorant. The members of the confraternity of the Holy Trinity, established in London in the year 1373, were bound to maintain thirteen lights burning about the sepulchre in the church of St. Botolph, Aldersgate, in the Easter time; and they were to make their offerings and to hear mass on Trinity Sunday. They had a common hall; their chaplain was to say a mass every day in the year, winter and summer, by five o'clock in the morning. A dirge was to be sung on the Sunday night after All Souls' day, and on the morrow a solemn requiem for all the dead brothers and sisters.² The rules of all the various confraternities were pretty nearly the same as what have already been noticed. Winchester is even indebted to a confraternity for the erection of the beautiful cross, standing in the High-street, which remains now the only memorial in the city of the once celebrated Guild of the Holy Cross.

The piece of early decorated glass (see plate 12) representing the upper portion of a beautiful seated figure of our Saviour, placed beneath a canopy, was formerly in the upper part of the central light of the east window of the chancel; at the commencement of the repairs in the church, the glass was removed from the window, which was to be refilled with new painted glass. Some months later we

¹ In the year 1830, it is stated, that the Company of Ironmongers in London were in possession of £104,000, and of £3,000 per annum, accumulated in their hands from ancient donations, which had been destined for the redemption of Christian slaves on the coast of Barbary. The Company stated they could not find objects for their bounty.

² Two of the London Companies are still in possession of their ancient funeral palls, viz., the Fishmongers and the Sadlers. They are valuable specimens of costly embroidery. One of them is given in Shaw's "Dresses and Decorations of the Middle Ages."



Francis Joseph Bayvent, Del! 1853.

$\frac{3}{4}$ Size of Original.

PIECE OF GLASS FORMERLY IN ST JOHN'S CHURCH
WINCHESTER.



were surprised at seeing this figure *without its canopy* placed in the east window of the south aisle. It may appear strange that the figure was not destroyed as well as the canopy, but the most unaccountable things occur sometimes, especially when pieces of old painted glass fall into the hands of a country glazier; little else might be expected.

We will now allude to the church itself, and the discoveries made during these repairs, by the walls being denuded of their plaster. The two pointed arches, in the north wall of the north aisle, that were met with at the time of the paintings previously published, proved to have been windows as was suggested at that time; between these windows was discovered a pointed arched doorway, with the consecration crosses at the side already noticed. In the west wall of this aisle, below the sill of its present window, was the sill of an early English window, exactly corresponding with those two found in the north wall; the lower part of this window may be seen on the outside of the wall; it was two feet five inches in width. At the side of this window was discovered the splay of a Norman window, which proves the wall to be of this period. It measured seven feet two inches by three feet three inches, while the window itself, which is still visible on the exterior of the wall, is only three feet ten inches by eight and a half inches. In the north wall close to, but on the west side of, the Roodscreen, was discovered a small perpendicular niche, painted of a bright red colour. On the floor, within the Roodscreen, was a stone inscribed

“Orate : p : ai’a : alicie : nup’ : uxoris :
Willi ; gerueys.”¹

The altar tomb at the east end of this aisle was obliged to be taken down, owing to its foundations having given away in removing the altar predella or platform.

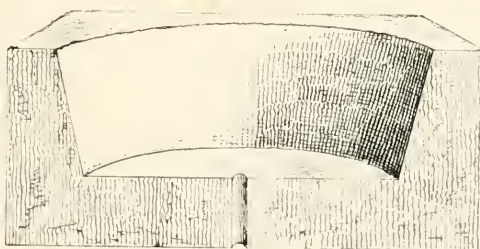
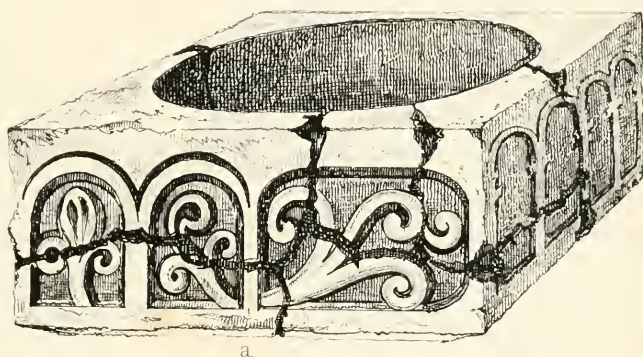
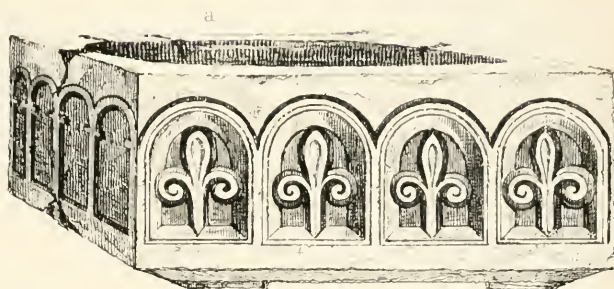
The splay of a Norman window was discovered in each side wall of the chancel, shewing them to have been of this period, and that the aisles were lengthened flush with the east wall of the chancel at a subsequent period. A large niche was found on the north side of the east window,

¹ This name is evidently the same as that now spelt Jervis, or Jervois.

which had had its overhanging canopy and projecting base chiseled away, and made level with the wall. Beneath the west window of the nave, was a door having a flat-headed arch. In the east end of the south aisle were the remains of another large niche; at the north side of its window, to the south of it, was a small perpendicular niche. In the south wall, near the present entrance to the roodscreen, indications were found of its former entrance from the inside of the church: an engraving of the later entrance has been given in our previous paper on the church.

Plate 13 represents a transition Norman font. We observed, on going into this church one day, a piece of stone that had been dug up at the base of the western pillar, on the south side of the nave, ornamented on one side with four sunken arches, and in each of them a trefoil flower. This we turned over and over again, and thought it might have been the lower part of some font; but at last, taking up a pickaxe lying near, to clean off the mortar and dirt adhering to it, we discovered indications of the bowl, which was filled up with a sandy mortar nearly as hard as the stone itself. When this was removed, there was before us half of a font. Two more pieces belonging to it were found by examining the various pieces of stone lying about in the church; and in the churchyard we succeeded in finding three more fragments. On putting these together the bowl of the font was found complete, as may be seen in the two engravings given of it. Two of its sides have only shallow, sunken panels to ornament it; but the two enriched sides are given in the plate. Each side measures twenty-nine inches, and is one foot in height. It stood on a large central pillar and a smaller one at each corner, after the usual manner of the fonts of this period.

The series of paintings from this church are as complete as any yet discovered, and therefore of great interest, showing how churches were ornamented in olden days, with representations of scenes from sacred and legendary lore. The earliest artists of the middle ages were the monks of the Benedictine order. In those days the religious orders were the greatest patrons of the fine arts: they preserved, from age to age, the religious treatment of these subjects. The monasteries were the only depositaries of chemical and medical knowledge, and to them we are indebted for



Section of Bowl of the Font.



the discovery of some of the finest colours, and the invention or improvement of the implements used in painting. The monks always prepared their own colours, even when they employed secular artists to paint for them; the materials furnished from their own laboratories being of the best and most durable kind.¹ "As architects, as glass painters, as mosaic workers, as carvers in wood and metal, they were the precursors of all that has since been achieved in Christian art; and if so few of the admirable and gifted men are known to us individually and by name, it is because they worked for the honour of God and their community,—not for profit nor for reputation."² The religious orders ought ever to be dear to the lovers of the fine arts, even if they had only produced that gentlest of painters, Fra Angelico da Fiesole, of the order of St. Dominic, whose paintings are so religiously beautiful as almost to defy description, and, if once seen, make such an impression on the mind as scarcely ever to be forgotten. He was as much respected for his humility and piety as for his painting. A simple tomb marks the spot where he sleeps, among the brethren of his order, in the beautiful church of Santa Maria-sopra-Minerva, at Rome.

P.S. In addition to the representations enumerated in the foregoing paper, of the assassination of Thomas à Becket, may be mentioned that found on a portion of a leaden vessel, apparently a chrisamatory, discovered at Evesham in Worcestershire, and exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries in November 1851, by T. A. Holmes, esq., figured in the Proceedings of that Society, vol. ii, p. 186. From the costume, this vessel was conjectured to have been fabricated in the reign of Henry III. There is also a manuscript, known as Queen Mary's Psalter, in the royal collection at the British Museum (2 B. vii), of the early part of the fourteenth century, which contains a complete series of outline sketches on the lower margin of the pages, illustrative of the events of the life of Thomas à Becket, the last four of which represent the following scenes:—

1. The archbishop seated at table with his attendants; a servant on his knee, announcing the approach of the four knights.

2. The assassination. The archbishop is kneeling before the altar with his hands raised as in an attitude of prayer. One of the knights stabs him on the crown of the head, whilst another slices off a piece of the skull. An attendant monk holds his crozier towards him.

3. The archbishop laid in the tomb. A bishop stands at the feet of the corpse censing the body, whilst another at his head holds the pastoral staff in his left hand, his right being raised. He is reading the service of the dead from a missal which is held by an attendant.

4. The archbishop kneeling, holding his mitre in his hand, and attended by two angels, is received by the Saviour seated, holding the orb in his left hand.

These drawings are highly spirited, but the figures are rather too long. The art is decidedly French.

¹ Sir C. Eastlake's "History of Painting."

² Mrs. Jameson's "Legends of Monastic Orders."

Proceedings of the Association.

JANUARY 11, 1854.

The following presents were laid upon the table, and thanks voted to the donors :

From the Chronological Institute. Their Transactions. Part I. 8vo. Lond. 1852.

From J. Clarke, Esq. Stranger's Guide to the Town of Framlingham, its Church and Castle, by N. Green. 12mo.

Mr. Ellis exhibited a Dutch medal, bearing the date of 1626, representing a fleet of ships, and having around an inscription reading *Confortamini Deo confidentes*; and on the reverse, *Imminent undique usque quo hostes*. Mr. Ellis also exhibited a silver Madonna medal of fine execution.

Two interesting knives were exhibited by Mr. H. Syer Cuming and Mr. Ellis. Upon one of these Mr. Cuming remarked :—

“Among the ancient relics exhibited at the last meeting by the rev. T. Hugo, was one which appeared to be part of the handle of a small knife. The leading features in this specimen were the peculiar form of the brass pommel, possibly representing the truncated stem of a tree, and the woodwork of the grip being decorated with little *trefoils*, in what would now be termed *piquet work* of brass. As there seemed to be some doubt regarding the exact age of this fragment, I am induced to bring before the notice of the Association a specimen which I hope will throw a ray of light upon the subject, and tend to show that Mr. Hugo's specimen is really a production of the middle of the sixteenth century. The knife (see plate 14, fig. 1) which I now exhibit was discovered in Farringdon-street, in May 1845, when a new road was being constructed to Islington. The iron blade is of the narrow pointed form common throughout the sixteenth century; and bears, near the haft, the impress of a pastoral staff; intended either as a religious device, or else the maker's stamp. The wooden handle is riveted on to the iron tang, and is decorated with little disks and *trefoils* arranged alternately down both sides; the *trefoils* being precisely similar to those seen on Mr. Hugo's fragment. But the most important part of this specimen is its disk-formed pommel of brass; on each face of which is engraved the numerals





52, in a character evidently of the sixteenth century, and doubtlessly standing for the date 1552, the omission of the first two figures being by no means uncommon at this period, although the practice is as old as the close of the fifteenth century. A familiar instance of this occurs in Caxton's *Boke of Eneydos*, printed in 1489; wherein he employs the devise of a W. C. with the numerals 74 between them, commemorative of the year 1474, in which he began to print in England. The fashion of dispensing with the first and second figures in year dates was not quite extinct even in the seventeenth century—witness the little tokens of the '*Boures Head in Grace Church Stre. 57,*' for 1657, and the '*Dover Farthing 68,*' for 1668. As foreign examples of such omissions, I may cite certain coins of the city of Lucca, which have only 55 and 64, for the years 1555 and 1564. Taking, therefore, into consideration the general form of these specimens, their similarity of decoration, and the date upon the example found in Farringdon-street, there appears sufficient evidence to warrant us in assigning both these specimens to the reign of Edward VI."

The knife exhibited by Mr. Ellis is of an earlier period, and may perhaps be regarded as a relic knife. It was pumped up from the Thames at Billingsgate, when the foundations for the new market were constructed, some few years back. The broad flat handle of this knife (see plate 14, fig. 2) consists of a framework of brass inlaid on each side with two pieces of dark-coloured wood and two pieces of bone: both the wood and bone being probably relics connected with the legend of some holy person. The broad plate on the upper part of the haft is graven with the nimbiated figure of a female saint with very long hair; apparently intended for Mary Magdalene, bearing in her hands a somewhat large *alabastrum*, the "alabaster box of ointment" wherewith she anointed the person of our Saviour at Bethany whilst he sat at meat in the house of Simon the Leper; for it must be remembered that since the time of St. Gregory it has generally been believed that it was she who performed this act of affectionate piety—further investigation may, however, lead to a more definite and satisfactory appropriation of this figure. On the centre bar which divides the inlaid portion of the haft, is engraved an eye-like figure, etc.; and on the piece of brass next the blade is the heart of Jesus, the aorta looking like the foot-stalk of a leaf. On the opposite side of the upper part of the handle is engraved a long involved scroll or label; and on the part next the blade is what would seem to be an imperfectly-formed or half-obliterated shield charged with a bend. The blade is rather short in proportion to the haft, a character common to the knives of the last half of the fifteenth century, to which period, perhaps, may be assigned this exceedingly interesting specimen. There can be little doubt but that this knife once belonged to a religious establishment, and was employed for some holy service; and Mr. Cuming has suggested

that it may possibly be the *laneca* used in the separation of the consecrated host before its administration in the sacrifice of the mass.¹

Mr. John Brent, jun., F.S.A., exhibited a grant of arms to Thomas Honeywood, of Sendec, in Newington juxta Hythe, in the county of Kent, dated 18th of Elizabeth (1576), and signed by Robert Cooke, Clarencieux.

Mr. Planché exhibited a helmet, the property of Mr. S. Pratt, which belonged to a very early period, and is of a description unknown either to Mr. Planché or to Mr. Bernal. It was obtained from Kent, and some circumstances connected with it appeared to connect it with king Stephen. It will, however, be drawn and illustrated by Mr. Planché, and noticed in a future *Journal*, together with some other specimens which have been referred for consideration.

Mr. Milward, of Thurgarton priory, sent for exhibition a rare Lincoln halfpenny.

Mr. Pettigrew read a short notice he had received from Dr. Grayling, of Sittingbourne, relative to the discovery of some Roman remains at that place. He also exhibited drawings of a vase and patera, obtained in the progress of some excavations which have been necessarily suspended until the spring, when the examination will be proceeded with, and the results laid before the Association.

Mr. O'Connor read a paper on "Painted Glass", and exhibited specimens belonging to various periods, illustrating his subject, however, particularly from drawings of a remarkable window in Lincoln cathedral, examined by the Association at the late Newark Congress. This paper, with its necessary illustrations, will appear in the next number of the *Journal*.

JANUARY 25.

The following associates were elected:

Hon. Wm. Venables Vernon, of Christ Church, Oxford.

John Davidson, M.D., 8, Wilton place.

Charles H. Savory, esq., 143, New Bond street.

Mr. James Clarke, of Easton, announced the discovery of various coins at Brandeston, consisting of a penny of Edward I of the London mint; a half-groat of Elizabeth, London mint, m m 1; a shilling of Charles II, 1668; and a sixpence of William III, 1696. A half-groat of Henry VIII; *obv.*, Henric VIII D G R Ag^e, etc., etc.; profile bust m m cross; *rev.*, civitas Eboraci, arms and cross with cardinal's cap between T W, m m cross. A shilling of James II, 1685; and a large brass coin of one of the Roman emperors, but much corroded. At Letheringham also some coins had been found, and are now in Mr. Clarke's possession. They are: a brass token; *obv.*, John Hill in Melton, in the field a ship; *rev.*, in Suffolk

¹ Du Cange, sub voce *Laneca*. *Oblate*.



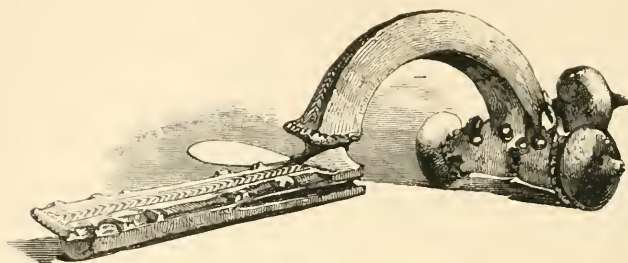


FIG. 1.



FIG. 2.



FIG. 3.



FIG. 4.

1668, in the field His halfpenny. Of a smaller size; *obv.*, John Hill in Melton, in the field a ship; *rev.*, at the sacke shope, in the field $\frac{H}{JE}$. Another, *obv.*, John Girling, in the field a swan; *rev.*, in Lavenham 1667, in the field $\frac{G}{H}$ and stars. A shilling of Charles I, much worn, m m in a crown. A groat of Henry VIII, fine silver; *obv.*, Henrici 8 D G Age Fra et Hyb Rex, three-quarter faced bust; *rev.*, arms and cross, civitas Eboraci, m m illegible. At Easton, a penny of Edward II, minted at Bury St. Edmund's, had also been found.

Mr. Clarke communicated that he was in possession of an iron fetter-lock, found about two years since in Pound meadow, at Easton, four feet below the surface. It is much corroded; and like the one engraved in the *Journal* (vol. ix, p. 157, No. 3, plate 22), except that it has a brass rib on each side of the barrel which passes through the loop of the bow to form the joint.

Mr. Walter Hawkins, F.S.A., laid before the meeting a fine specimen of Roman Christian lamp, formerly in the possession of the rev. Johnson Grant. Upon this specimen, and two others exhibited by Mr. H. Syer Cuming, a paper was read, being additional remarks to those contributed by him on a former occasion. They will be arranged, and appear in a future *Journal*. In the meantime, the members of the Association are requested to forward any specimens which may be in their possession that they may be figured. Those presented on this occasion were of terra cotta; one bore in low relief the figure of a peacock with its tail spread out, and surmounted by three nimbi, emblematic of the Trinity. The peacock was adopted as a sacred emblem by the church at an early period, and is to be found in the catacombs at Rome sculptured upon sarcophagi, depicted in mosaic work, and it is also introduced in illuminated manuscripts, both alone, and in conjunction with the cross. One of the specimens exhibited by Mr. Cuming was obtained from the catacombs; another was from Colchester; and as a specimen of Roman relic of the Christian period found in England is very interesting. The top of the lamp exhibits the sacred monogram, and the *chi* is in the form of St. Andrew's cross. It has the solid disc-formed *ansa* at the opposite end to the rostrum, and on the top of the lamp is the monogram of Jesus in low relief. The *chi* is decorated with an eyelet hole pattern, and is a representation of the *crux gemmata*, the gemmed or floriated cross of triumph. The centre subject is included within a margin, on which is impressed six doves, three on each side, with their heads directed towards the handle. These Mr. Cuming presumed to be typical of the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, the *figulus* or manufacturer having, either by accident or design, omitted one of the birds, a circumstance by no means rare in mediæval productions. The workmanship of this lamp is Byzantine.

The rev. Thomas Hugo, F.S.A., exhibited a bronze fibula of the later Roman period, found in Ratcliffe Highway, in the autumn of 1852. It

is of a remarkable form (see plate 15, fig. 1), and resembles one exhibited by a member of the Association to the Society of Antiquaries in May 1850, and of which a representation and account is given in their Proceedings, vol. ii, pp. 84-86. This, however, was in gold, whereas the present specimen is of bronze, and appears to have been originally enamelled. In the gold example, the fillet at the base of the arc was filled up with a minute gold chain, wound around it as if for the purpose of preventing the separation of the fibula from the garment it was intended to secure. In Mr. Hugo's specimen the chain is wanting, but the place which it was intended to occupy is very conspicuous. The gold specimen was found in Scotland, but the precise locality has not been mentioned by the possessor, fearing that it might be claimed as *treasure-trove* by the Scottish Exchequer. A similar example, also in gold, was discovered in a garden at Odiham in Hampshire, and is now in the British Museum. This is figured in the second volume of the *Archæological Journal*, and was exhibited by Mr. Birch, through Mr. Pettigrew, at the first archæological Congress of the British Archæological Association, held at Canterbury, in September 1844. The peculiarity of its workmanship induced many of the members to regard it as belonging to the Saxon period; but it is generally conceived to be of a late Roman time. The cruciform appearance of the examples now alluded to is well worthy of observation. Mr. C. R. Smith, in his *Collect. Antiq.*, vol. i, plate 3, has figured, though in a very rough manner, a fibula of a like shape, found at Estaples, which is to be seen in the museum at Boulogne. Richot has represented one found at the Châtelet in France; and count Caylus, in his *Recueil d'Antiquités*, tom. i, plate 94, fig. 8, has figured a bronze one, in shape precisely resembling the gold one found at Odiham, and the specimen from Ratcliffe Highway. Caylus assigns his specimen to the fourth or fifth century. It had an inscription, which he reads DOMINE. MARTI. VIVAS on one side of the curved portion, and on the other VTERE. FELEX.

Mr. Edward Pretty, of Northampton, made a communication relative to some traces of Roman occupation discovered at Hardingstone, of which he received intelligence from Mr. J. W. Smith, the editor of the *Northampton Mercury*. It appears that in 1853, whilst excavating for iron ore at Hardingstone, a large number of bones and teeth belonging to different animals were met with, and also one of the antlers of a large stag. There were likewise a great number of broken pots of Roman make, of various patterns, all having been apparently deposited at the same time. The bones reposed on a floor of stones, placed to receive them, and were covered with fine dark mould or soil, which appears to have been riddled, and from which the small stones are all taken.

The ground here has evidently been extensively worked over by the "old men", and some very important iron-making operations must at the

time have been in progress. On the receipt of this intelligence, Mr. Pretty visited the place, the situation of which he marked on a tracing from the Ordnance survey, as well as other spots adjoining of antiquarian interest.

In the sketches forwarded, he exhibits, first, a specimen of a chocolate-coloured patera, with a white Vitruvian scroll. This is evidently from the Castor potteries, alluded to by the late Mr. Artis, in his *Castor Antiquities*, and in vol. i of the *Journal of the Association*. The pattern of this scroll is different from those given by Artis, in the *Castor Antiquities*, plate 45; and the specimens given by Mr. C. Roach Smith, vol. iv, p. 1, of the *Journal*. The material is very like the biscuit ware of present manufacture, and overlaid with an impacted colour; in some specimens the interior of the vessel is red, and others black inside, and black or grey on the outside. Chocolate-coloured patera and small mortaria



occur in red earthenware, and judging from the weight of the same shape given in plate 29 of Artis's *Castor*, the article, represented in the annexed cut, probably was used for the same purpose.¹ There were also a part of the scull of an ox, and probably the scull of a deer. Judging from this specimen, and the large size of the antlers found at this place, they belonged to a kind of red deer, now extinct in this part of the kingdom.

In the tracing of the vicinity of Northampton, the following places in which Roman remains have been found may be distinguished:—

1. The Harpole pavement, given already in the *Journal*, vol. v, p. 375; and vol. vi, plate 16, p. 126.
2. Site of a mosaic pavement, not yet explored.
3. Roman remains found in Arbour field; probably the halfway resting place between Bennavenna and the Roman station at Ilchester, near Wellingborough. (See Wetton's *Guide*, p. 243.)
4. Northampton castle.
5. Tumuli in the meadows between the Castle and Hunsboro' hill.
6. Hunsboro' hill camp.
7. Camp at Rothersthorpe. (See *Journal*, vol. i, pp. 213-14.)
8. Coins found at Wootton; described in *Archæological Journal*, vol. i, pp. 67-8.
9. Bury Lands, described by Mr. Pretty in Wetton's *Guide*, p. 140.

¹ It has been ornamented with lines pierced in with a fine point.

10. Place where the Roman remains in the present communication were found. It is at the brink of the hill, overlooking a ravine, most pleasantly situated, and commanding an extensive view over the valley of the Nen to the north and east, from which point,

11. Little Houghton (a small square entrenchment), and

12. Clifford hill (a tumulus and entrenchment), can be seen.

13. Site of tumulus. A beacon for signalling from Clifford hill towards Bennavenna.

14. Saxon or Danish remains found here. (See Wetton's *Guide*, pp. 57-242.)

15. Site of St. Andrew's monastery, Northampton. See *Journal*, vol. viii, p. 678.

16. Port way at Hardingstone. A continuation from the port way in Salay forest through Quinton and Wootton. (See Wetton's *Guide*, pp. 138-204.)

Mr. Pretty also exhibited the impression of the coin of Hadrian, found in Harding street, Northampton (see *Journal*, vol. viii, p. 67), on the site of St. Andrew's monastery.

The above notice of localities in which remains had been discovered led to an interesting discussion between Mr. Pretty, the rev. Mr. Hugo, Mr. Pettigrew, Mr. Baily, and others, as to the value of carrying out the same in regard to other counties, and the great help it would afford to archæological inquirers.

Mr. George Vere Irving read the first part of a very elaborate paper on "the Chronology and Geography of the Wars between the Saxons of Northumberland and the Northern Britons, from the Battle of Argoed to that of Kaltraez, of which the following may be considered an abstract:

Mr. Irving commenced his observations on the chronology of the wars between the Anglo Saxons of Northumberland and the northern Britons, from the battle of Argoed to that of Kaltraez, by stating that he felt considerable diffidence in submitting them to the Association, as his conclusions differed from those of all previous writers on this obscure portion of our national history. He might, however, plead as some extenuation of this presumption, that, with the exception of the count de la Villemarqué, all these authors have merely treated of this period as an episode in works of a more extended nature; while the attention of the learned author of the *Poems des Bardes Bretons du vième Siècle* had been so much directed to the literature of Britany and Wales, that he is naturally led to attach too little weight to the information obtainable from other sources, such as the Saxon chronicles, the ecclesiastical writings, and the Irish annals. It might, however, be confidently maintained that no chronology could be satisfactory, which did not unite the facts contained in these independent authorities into something like a consistent whole.

After briefly enumerating the various battles recorded by the three

bards Taliessin, Lywarch, and Aneurin, with the dates assigned to them by count de la Villemarqué, viz.,

The battle of Argoed, in which Urien of Reghed and his son Owen defeated the Saxon leader known as the Flamebearer, *circa* A.D. 547.

The battle of Gwenn Ostrad, A.D. 547-579.

The combat of Menao, in which a Saxon leader, conjectured by the count to be the Flamebearer, was killed, A.D. 560.

A battle in which Urien was killed, A.D. 572-579. This Villemarqué identifies with the siege of Theodoric of Northumberland in the island of Medcant, mentioned by Nennius.

And, lastly, the battle of Kaltraez, A.D. 572-580, when the Saxons successfully attacked the British kingdom of Strathclyde, and captured Dumbarton, its capital city.

Mr. Irving proceeded to examine the grounds on which that chronology was based. In its main features it rested on the identity of the Flamebearer with Ida the founder of the Northumberland kingdom. To this, however, he objected,—

1st. That the chief reason of identification was the supposed fact, that Ida was the most warlike king of these Saxons, and the most severe ravager of the Britons; but no corroboration of this was to be found in the Saxon historians; on the contrary, he proved by several quotations from Bede, and William of Malmesbury, that they all concur in assigning this preeminence to Ethelfrid, his grandson and successor.

2nd. In a poem of Taliessin, it is stated that when the Flamebearer was killed he was taken by *surprise*. No historian relates such an incident in connection with Ida, but they all agree that this was a feature in the death of Ethelfrid.

3rd. Bun, or Bebbia, was the wife of the Flamebearer. She was killed at Kaltraez. If, however, she was the wife of Ida, she could hardly have survived him so long, more especially if the date of the battle is found to be much later than the period assigned to it by Villemarqué. Independent of which we have the direct evidence of Nennius, that she was the wife of Ethelfrid, who gave her the town of Bamborough, in Northumberland, which from her was called Bebbanburg.

The idea that Urien was killed when besieging Theodoric, appears to be founded on an erroneous interpretation of the passage in Nennius. For this opinion several reasons were given, and, *inter alia*, the fact that Urien is there stated to have fought not only against Theodoric, but also against his successors Freothwulf and Hussa.

The date assigned to the battle of Kaltraez it was contended was much too early, because Aneurin, who celebrates this contest, expressly mentions the fall in it of Domnal Bree, king of the Scots; and it was shewn that this event appears in the annals of Ulster under A.D. 641, while the accuracy of this record is corroborated by the season of the year when

his death occurred, and also by the Dabriadic Duan and the annals of Tyhearnac.

After stating these objections to the received chronology, Mr. Irving proceeded to explain that which he proposed to substitute for it: and, as a preliminary step, entered into an examination of the light which might be thrown on the subject, by an identification of three companions in arms of Urien enumerated in Nennius—Ryderthen, Morgant, and Gwallock—with persons of whom notice is met with in the other records.

Ryderthen, he agreed with most of the previous authors, must be identified with Roderick the Bountiful, the king of Strathelyde, and the patron of St. Kentigern, who reigned from 550 to 601.

Morgan had sometimes been supposed to be Morkern, the predecessor of Roderick, but the facts recorded in the life of St. Kentigern renders this idea untenable. Villemarqué points to a Morgan, king of Glamorgan, but the evidence in the *Liber Llandavensis*, though it proves his existence at the time, in no way connects him with these northern wars. On the contrary, it appears improbable that a king of South Wales should be mixed up in a struggle so far from home, while it is curious that in only one passage do any of the bards refer to a warrior undoubtedly from *Wales proper*, and in it Morien of Powis is called a *stranger*. From these reasons Mr. Irving was induced to seek the kingdom of Morgan in the north, and believes he has found it in the Scots of Argyleshire, who are proved by passages in Adamnanus and the annals of Ulster, to have invaded Northumberland in company with the northern Britons, and that Morgan represents Aidan the most powerful king of this nation, the name being a corruption of his patronymic Mac Gouren.

Gwalloc he was inclined to consider with Chalmers the king of the Lelgovæ and Novantes, which would render complete the league of the whole macatæ or intramural Britons, but of this he admitted he could bring no direct proof.

In the conclusion of the paper, Mr. Irving contended that none of the battles celebrated by the bards could be assigned to an earlier period than the reign of Freothwulf; and that of those recorded by them, the combat of Menao was probably the first in date, identifying it with the battle in the annals of Ulster, A.D. 581, *Bellum Manan in quo victor erat Aodhan Mac Gauran*. As this year corresponds with that in which Freothwulf died, he thought it probable he was the Saxon leader mentioned in that poem.

The lay of the battle of Guenn Ostrad contains no date by which the year of this engagement can be ascertained.

The battle of Argoed he thought was fought some time after the accession of Ethelfrid, in A.D. 593, considering this king to have been the Flamebearer of the bards.

The contest in which Urien was killed he identified with the battle of

Egesanstane, recorded by Bede and the Saxon chronicle as having been fought A.D. 603.

The war of Kaltraez he placed, for the reasons already stated, in A.D. 641; but observed that there were many passages in the poem of Aneurin, which seemed to allude to a later contest also, that occurred in A.D. 649, and pointed out the curious light which the record of the latter in the annals of Ulster threw upon an obscure passage in Nennius, relative to Penda of Mercia and the city of Juden.

Mr. Irving supported these dates by minute criticism, but the number of arguments adduced, and their relative dependence, renders any abstract of them exceedingly difficult.

FEBRUARY 8.

The following associates were elected :

Captain Arthur Chilver Tupper, Athenæum.

Colonel Galvagni, 36, Chapel street, Belgrave square.

William Langslow Horton, esq., Alpha road.

John Calvert, esq., 189, Strand.

Rev. John Edmund Cox, M.A., F.S.A., 44, Burton crescent.

George Adams, esq., 126, Sloane street.

Thanks were voted for the following presents :

From the Royal Society. Their Proceedings (in continuation), vol. vi. 8vo. 1853.

— Address of the Earl Rosse, P.R.S., delivered at the Anniversary Meeting, Nov. 30, 1853. 8vo.

From the Society. Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie, 3^e série, 10^e volume. Paris, 1853. 4to.

— Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Picardie, tom. ii, 1853. Amiens. 8vo.

— Bulletins de la Société. Année 1853. Amiens. 8vo.

From the Author. Baths and Washhouses, by Geo. A. Cape, jun. London, 1854. 8vo.

— An Essay on the Connexion between Astronomical and Geological Phenomena, by W. Devonshire Saull, F.S.A. London, 1853. 8vo.

— Notice sur la Vie et les Ouvrages de M. de Gerville, par Léopold Delisle. Valognes, 1853. 8vo.

From J. G. Nichols, Esq., F.S.A. The Gentleman's Magazine for 1853. London. 8vo.

Mr. John Wimbridge, F.S.A., exhibited fine rubbings taken from two interesting brasses.

No. 1, from Chrishall church, near Saffron Walden, Essex, is a large and fine monumental brass to the memory of sir John de la Pole and his wife Joan; the latter was daughter and heiress of John lord Cobham, of

Cobham, Kent. For many years this brass was partly concealed under the pews in the nave of the church, but when Mr. Wimbridge took the rubbing now exhibited in October 1849, it had been carefully removed within the altar railings by the rev. T. Everth, and many thanks are due to him for effectually preserving so fine an example of monumental art, and of so early a date as 1370 or 1375.

An interesting description of this brass will be found in the sixteenth number of the *Archæological Journal*, by Mr. C. J. Manning, who describes it as representing "a knight in the armour of the end of Edward the Third's reign, holding his baldric in his left hand, and the right hand of his lady in his right; her head-dress is the caul usually seen at the same period, and from her arms hang the sleeve lappets which are sometimes, but rarely, found in contemporary brasses. The costume of the figures, and the style of the brass, is such as to make it almost a certainty that it was executed about the year 1375; at which time, it is probable, they also rebuilt the church, as their arms remain on the south door; and many parts of the building are of late decorated or transition character." The fine triple canopy is mutilated, and the shafts which supported it are entirely gone. It is from the arms underneath the figures that the names of the persons commemorated have been discovered. Of the inscription, which was marginal, a very small fragment only remains, with the words "*sa feme priez.*"

No. 2 was a rubbing from a brass in St. Nicholas church, Taplow, Bucks. It consists of an elegant cross brass, described in the *Manual of Monumental Brasses*, as consisting of a long stem resting on a dolphin, and terminating in a head composed of eight ogee arches, alternately large and small, with tasteful finials, and surrounding a small male figure, date c. 1350. The figure has flowing hair, moustaches, and beard; and wears a hood, cape, tunic or tight-fitting gown, reaching below the knees, partly open in front, and with two pocket holes; the sleeves are short, and hang down from above the elbow in long lappets, exhibiting the tight sleeves of an under dress; the legs are in tight hose, and the feet in low shoes, laced up at the sides. This brass has been relaid in a fresh stone in the new church, and the inscription incorrectly placed *above* the cross; one of the finials, and probably some leaves from the sides of the stem, are lost. Inscription: "Nichole de Aumbedine iadis Pessonner (Poissonier) de Londres gist ici; Dieu de Salme eit mercy. Amen."

Mr. C. Bischoff, jun., remarked upon the word *Pessonner* in the foregoing inscription, that although the grant to the Fishmongers' Company was not made until 1433, still they had previously been a strong and affluent body. In 1320, the Salt Fishmongers were the rivals to the Goldsmiths, and so much strife arose between the parties that many were obliged to desert their avocation. This quarrel gradually infused itself into the other citizens; and the founding of the Company was, it is

generally conceived, to protect them from further abuse. The struggle began in 1322, and as this fishmonger N. d'Aumbedine died in 1350 in Bucks, it may be possible that he was among those who were forced to quit London for their personal safety. This necessarily must be matter of doubt; yet we may fairly infer that a fishmonger of 1350 was a man of sufficient repute to afford so expensive a monument as the one, the rubbing from which was now exhibited. The cross is engraved in Gough's *Sepulchral Monuments*.

Mr. James Clarke sent an impression from a brass coin, taken in a shop at Framlingham for a farthing thirty-six years since, and now in his possession; it was of Faustina the elder. Mr. Clarke also transmitted an impression from a silver seal found at Kettleborough hall, bearing the crest of the Mowbray family.

The rev. Thomas Hugo, F.S.A., exhibited some fibulæ of a late Roman period, found in Rateliff Highway, including one which from its circular ornamentation was considered to be Danish. (See plate 15, fig. 2.) One of the Roman fibulæ, a decade brooch (fig. 3), resembled that obtained from Maidstone, exhibited by Mr. Ashpitel to the Association. (See *Journal*, vol. viii, p. 369.) It presented ten points, each of which formerly contained some ornament.

Mr. F. J. Baigent made a communication on a discovery at Winchester College, which, with illustrations, will appear in the next number of the *Journal*.

Mr. John Brent, jun., F.S.A., laid before the meeting a drawing from a Runic cross, preserved in the Dover museum. It has been figured in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxv. A drawing from another stone from the same museum, originally discovered in the interior of the Saxon church in Dover castle, presented the portion of an inscription on what is reasonably conjectured to have been the sepulchral slab of Peter de Creone or Craon, who, it appears,¹ was known, as well as his father Maurice, to have been an Anglo-Norman poet of the latter part of the twelfth or beginning of the thirteenth century. The inscription reads:

... CET . PETRVS . DE . CREONE .

.. E . PRO . ANIMA . EIV . . .

Hic jacet Petrus de Creone. Orate pro anima ejus.

Mr. A. H. Burkitt, F.S.A., read a second paper on the subject of "London Tradesmen's Signs."² In this communication Mr. Burkitt endeavoured to separate as much as possible a notice of those signs only which were more especially appropriated to hotels, taverns, and other places of public resort. "It would be curious," he observed, "if space would allow it, to follow up the subject by the enumeration of the chief

¹ Mr. Pettigrew remarked that this inscription had been brought to the notice of the Association in 1845.

² For the first part, see *Journal*, vol. ix, pp. 40-59.

places in London in which our early dramatists have laid some of the best scenes in their plays, more especially from the reason that it is well known they were accustomed to introduce their favourite places of resort, and further illustrate them by characters of the time who were their special associates. Thus we find of Ben Jonson's favourite place of resort, he says:

“ ‘At Bread Street Mermaid having dined and merry,
Proposed to go to Holborn in a wherry.’ ”

“ In the accounts of the personal expenditure of Shakespeare's ‘Jockey of Norfolk,’ we find ‘payd for wyn at the Mermayd in Bred Street, for my master (Sir John) and Syre Nicholas Latemer, *xd.*’ Middleton, in his comedy of *Your Five Gallants*, written in 1608, refers to this tavern, and also to its rival the *Mitre*.

“ The fact of the Mermaid being named variously, as Bread-street, Friday-street, and Cheap, has caused some to suppose that there were different clubs held at rival houses which bore the same sign; but there is reason for believing that the house was the same, with entrances into each of these places. There is a token of this house in the Beaufoy collection in the museum of Guildhall, the date of which is 1652. The *Mitre* stood near the spot now occupied by Mitre-court, Cheapside. Not far from these taverns, was until very recently to be seen, a good old carved sign of *Gerard the Giant* in a niche in front of Gerard's hall, which famous house together with its beautiful crypt has recently been removed to make way for a new line of street.¹ It appears that this sign was set up in the reign of Charles II, but removed from its original place about thirty years ago, and having undergone the operation of amputation of the legs, it was then placed near the tap-room door. The last landlord, however, restored it to its original position, as well as its legs. This curious object is of carved wood, and painted. The costume is quaint, a red robe flows from the shoulders, the hat is slouched, and of the pilgrim fashion, and in his hand he holds a sturdy staff. It is to be hoped that this old sign will find a final resting place in the city museum.

“ The royal and loyal sign of the *Crown* was, as at the present day, the most common of all. A curious instance is mentioned by our old chroniclers of dire misfortune attendant on one who adopted it. In the middle of the thirteenth century, Cheapside was an open space, known as the *crown-field*, which took its name from an inn of that sign at the end of it. In the reign of Edward IV, it appears that this house was kept by one Walter Walker, who said by way of joke, that he would make his son ‘heir to the crown.’ The unfortunate host was condemned for high treason and hanged opposite his own door.

¹ For views and particulars of this interesting place, see *Journal*, vol. ix, pp. 113-120, and plates 15-18.

“Southwark is particularly rich in interesting specimens of ancient inns, many of which retain their old designation, but few exhibit their old sign. A gilt half-moon is the only one now to be seen projecting over the inn door. The *White Hart*, *Catherine Wheel*, *Talbot*, and a few others, are good specimens of ancient domestic architecture, and from their being situated at the back of the present line of street, is to be attributed their preservation. In some, their old and characteristic galleries run round their entire court-yards, while others have only partly preserved them.

“One of the most interesting of these houses is the *Talbot*, or *Tabard*. A fragment only of its hanging gallery exists, but in the interior may still be traced portions of ancient carved decorations deserving special attention. This inn is well known as having been the resort of Chaucer, Gower, Fletcher, and others, and a famous point of departure of the pilgrims to the shrine of Thomas à Becket. Some doubts have arisen as to the original meaning of this sign, but it is generally allowed that the true one is the heraldic coat, or *Tabard*, and which may be ranked amongst the royal insignia.

“The Inns of Court, as their name implies, owe their origin to the fact of their having been common hostelrys, and the resort of members of the legal profession, and in course of time became exclusively so. We have the authority of Dugdale, who says in his *Origines Juridiciales*, that Clement’s Inn was a common hostelry for travellers, with the sign of the *Blessed Virgin*, and known as *Our Lady Inn*. Previous to the reign of Henry V, Lyon’s Inn was of the same description, and the device of the *Lion* they still exhibit over the gateway. On either side of the gateway of the Inner Temple in Fleet-street may be seen, stone carvings of the *Holy Lamb*, and the *Flying Horse*. The former innocent device, although appropriate in connection with the ancient church, which is dedicated to St. John of Jerusalem, has been assumed by the society of the law, which object, as well as the *Pegasus* of the Inner Temple, has given rise to many clever satires in verse in respect to innocence and expedition. Over the gateway of New Inn, in Wych-street, is their device or sign, a vase of flowers, figured by Dugdale, a *flower-pot*, argent. Thavys Inn still exhibits their *wheatsheaves*, and Staple Inn the device of the staplers, a *sack of wool*. The spot now occupied by the Three Cranes Wharf at the foot of Southwark Bridge, marks the spot where formerly stood that famous house, the ‘Three Cranes in the Vintrie.’ Whether the three *birds* or the *levers* for unloading goods were originally meant as the device on the sign-board, is uncertain. The token of this house, in the Beaufoy¹ ‘collection at

¹ “Descriptive Catalogue of London Trades, Tavern, and Coffee-House Tokens current in the Seventeenth Century, presented to the Corporation Library by H. B. H. Beaufoy, by J. H. Burn. London, 1853.” Printed for the use of the corporation, a copy of which has been liberally presented to the Association.

Guildhall' throws no light on the subject, as on the reverse is represented three *trees*. In 1385 it was called the *Painted Tavern*, from its florid decorations in front. It is on record that this house was visited by Queen Mary on the occasion of her appearance at Guildhall, to denounce sir Thomas Wyatt and his adherents as traitors, when she rode from thence to the *three cranes* in the Vintry, and took her barge to Westminster. The sign of the *Daggers* was formerly frequent, and was adopted very possibly as a memento of the tragic scenes in the time of Richard II. Ben Jonson in his *Bartholomew Fair*, makes mention of the *Three Daggers*, a famous house of resort in the locality of Smithfield, which place was the scene of death of Wat Tyler by the hand of sir William Walworth, which circumstance, it has by some been supposed, gave rise to the adoption of the dagger in the shield of the city arms.

"Nathan Drake in his *Shakspeare and his Times*, quotes an old song, *Newes from Bartholomew Fayre*, in which there are many old famous houses already mentioned.

" 'There hath been great sale and utterance of wine,
 Besides beere and ale, and ipocras fine.
 In every country, region, and nation ;
 Chefely at Billingsgate, at the Salutation,
 And Bore's Head neere London Stone,
 The Swan at Dowgate, a taverne well knowne,
 The Miter in Chcape, and then the Bull's Head,
 And many other places that make noses red ;
 The Bore's Head in Old Fish street, Three Cranes in the Vintreee,
 And now of late St. Martin's in the Sentree ;
 The Windmill in Lothbury, the Ship at the Exchange,
 King's Head in New Fish Streete, where roysters do range,
 The Mermaid in Cornhill, Red Lion in the Strand,
 Three Tuns, Newgate Market ; Old Fish Street at the Swan.'

"In some of the older parts of London, we may still find subjects of public-house and inn signs, which exhibit evidence of having been taken from events connected with the locality, many of which have formed themes for our early ballad literature. In Whitechapel and Bethnal Green there exists the sign of the *Blind Beggar of Bethnal Green* ; in Southwark the *Blue-eyed Maid* ; in Bermondsey the *Miller of Mansfield* and *Lilliput Hall*. The *Green Man*, the *Archers*, *Robin Hood*, and the *Maid Marian*, are still lurking about the outskirts, and which were formerly isolated houses, in the neighbourhood of groves, woods, or fields. In Clerkenwell still exists an old relic, in stone, of the sign of the *Pindar of Wakefield*.

"There are many signs in existence which are difficult to define : as *Cogers Hall*, the *Hog in Armour*, and the *Hole in the Wall*, of which latter there are no less than seven to be found in the metropolis. At

Brentford the remains of the old *Three Pigeons* exists. Tradition affirms it to have been one of the favorite retreats of Ben Jonson and Shakespeare. One of its former hosts was the popular actor Lowin, who died there, just before the restoration, old and poor, having been driven from the stage, with many others, by the puritans. Other actors, it is well known, kept taverns: Tarlton kept the *Bell Savage* in *Gracious Street*. When the author of these notes made mention of the *Three Kings* in his former paper, he had not seen the curious old sign against a house in Bucklersbury. This relic is, like many others, in stone, in respect to the figures being carved in high relief, and inserted in the brickwork. The probable date of the execution of this is, perhaps, not earlier than the seventeenth century: be that as it may, the artist has evidently endeavoured to adhere to the traditional identity of the triad, which are meant to represent the three kings of Cologne, otherwise the three wise men of the east. Relics, in metal, bearing the names of the three kings, have been occasionally turned up in London; and a few years since, a curious one was dredged from the bed of the Thames, near London Bridge: it was of lead, forming the lid of a 'pix', on the four compartments of which were the three kings and the virgin and child. Another example may be added to those who used their own heads by way of a sign, in that of Pasqua Rosee, of St. Michael's Alley, Cornhill, and who, according to his original handbill, in the collection of the late Mr. D'Israeli, was one of the first who set forth the 'vertue of coffee drink, first publicly made and sold in England'. This was about 1652. This subject will lead us again into Fleet Street, to the sign of the *Rainbow*, which in 1667 was kept by one à Barke, another vendor of what its opponents designated an 'abominable compound'. This tavern is also renowned from the fact that the originators of the *Phoenix* insurance company held their meetings there on its being established in 1682; one of its promoters was Dr. Nicholas Barbone, probably a relation of Praise-God-Barbones, who was a resident for many years in St. Dunstan's parish.

"In my former notice mention was also made of various sculptured heads and other devices inserted in the brickwork of the houses which possibly may have been signs, but some may have been placed there for the purpose of marking spots of local or historical interest. There is a curious object of this description still preserved in Newgate-street, over the entrance to Bull's Head court. It is of stone, carved in relief and painted, and representing as the inscription tells us, *ye Kynges Porter and a Dwarfe*. Nearly opposite to this, and against a house at the corner of Warwick-lane, is a bas-relief in stone of one of the earls of Warwick, clad in a suit of mail armour. The inscription records that it has been repaired by the parish,—a worthy instance, and deserving of honourable mention, of parochial authorities showing respect for its antiquities. In the same street, and opposite St. Martin's-le-Grand, is



good stone sign of *Adam and Eve*, an original specimen adopted by the business of a wool merchant. In King William-street, London Bridge, may be seen, over the doorway of a cord and tackle maker, a quaint carving in oak. This formerly decorated the front of an older house now pulled down, at which time it was painted in colours, but is now defaced, and its character destroyed by a thick coat of brown varnish, a bad imitation of the wood of which it is made. The subject is spirited, and represents fishermen in a boat engaged in their craft; the costume indicates the early part of the last century. In addition to the signs formed by rebuses of the name of the owners of the property, a good specimen is still to be seen against the front of a house in the Borough. This is represented in stone relief, a *Hare and Sun*, the rebus of one *Harrison* who set it up, as the date on it records, in 1667. The initials at the corner are ^{H.}_{R.L.} The old printer, John Harrison, adopted the same, as we see on his title-pages, but with a variation in the position of the hare, which, with a view to make it more complete, he placed sitting in a sheaf of *rye*, bound round with a label inscribed with the words 'RI. RI'.

"Ben Jonson in his *Alchemist* gives a scene which curiously illustrates this part of the subject. It occurs in Act II, Sc. 1.

"Some of the most eminent painters of all nations, it is well known, were accustomed to adopt a rebus, which they either introduced into their subjects, or painted it in the corner of their pictures; as Hufnagel, a *horse-shoe nail*; Isabella Quatrepomme, an *apple with IV* upon it; Palma, a *palm-tree*; Jacob Tübingen, a *little tub*; Correggio, a *heart crowned*; Jacob Stella, a *star*; Lauber, a *leaf*; Hans Weiner, a *bunch of grapes*; David Vinkenbooms, a *finch on a branch of a tree*; Birnbaum, a *pear-tree*; Bernard Groat, the *spine of a fish*; and Zucharelli, a *gourd, or leather bottle*. This incidental mention of artists will probably suggest to the reader of these rough notes, the connection of sign-painting with the early struggles in life of some of the greatest masters; the practice of that humble branch of art having been the means of bringing them to notice and fame when no other channel was open to them. Of our own school may be named Hogarth, Gainsborough, and Morland.

"It would be improper to close this notice without reverting to the various traditions and anecdotes to which the subject has given rise. Transpositions and corruptions are among the most familiar. It has been laid to the charge of the puritans, that they compelled many publicans, under pains and penalties, to change the designations of their signs,—those more especially which hurt their susceptible consciences in having a reference to regal authority,—and substituting others more conformable to their notions of republicanism. Crowns and sceptres, with stars and garters, were removed without compunction; while the wheels of St. Catherine, and other emblems of the saints, were turned to suit the popular taste. Although there are many instances of force being

resorted to, it is more than probable the transformations took place at the instigation of the owners of the property, whose interest it was to suit the popular cry,—as they were as ready to restore their former signs at the restoration, as they had been before to abandon them. In some instances, transpositions may be traced to the ignorance of the sign painter, as in the case of the *Bag of Nails* for the *Bacchanals*, and many others which it is not requisite here to repeat, many of them being not well authenticated, and the majority, perhaps, pure inventions of small wits and writers of popular books of jests.

“The signs of London streets often formed subjects for practical jokes. The badly lighted state of the streets, and a defective night-watch, were taken advantage of by unruly disturbers of the public peace. It was no uncommon thing to find in the morning your sign swinging the wrong way upwards, an exchange of signs, or a vacant post showing no sign. Aubrey relates a frolic, in 1635, by a party of students of Lincoln’s Inn, in which Sir John Denham, the poet, took a conspicuous part. Having procured a pot of ink and plasterers’ brushes, they proceeded to smear over and obliterate the signs between Temple Bar and Charing Cross. The ink-pot was carried by R. Estcourt, esq., and the brushes were wielded by the poet and his companions with considerable effect; but being discovered, they had the next day to pay ‘much monies’ for the night’s mischief.”

FEBRUARY 22.

Mrs. Percival, of Highbury park, Islington;

Wm. Warwick King, esq., of 32, Tredegar square,
were elected associates.

Thanks were voted for the following presents:

From John Ellis, Esq. Treatise on Hannibal’s Passage of the Alps, by R. Ellis, B.D. London, 1854. 8vo.

From J. O. Halliwell, F.R.S. Brief Description of the Ancient and Modern Manuscripts preserved in the Library of Plymouth, etc. London, 1853. 4to. (Privately printed and limited to 80 copies.)

From the Authors. History and Antiquities of St. David’s, by W. B. Jones, M.A., and E. A. Freeman, M.A. Part III. Lond. 1853. 4to.

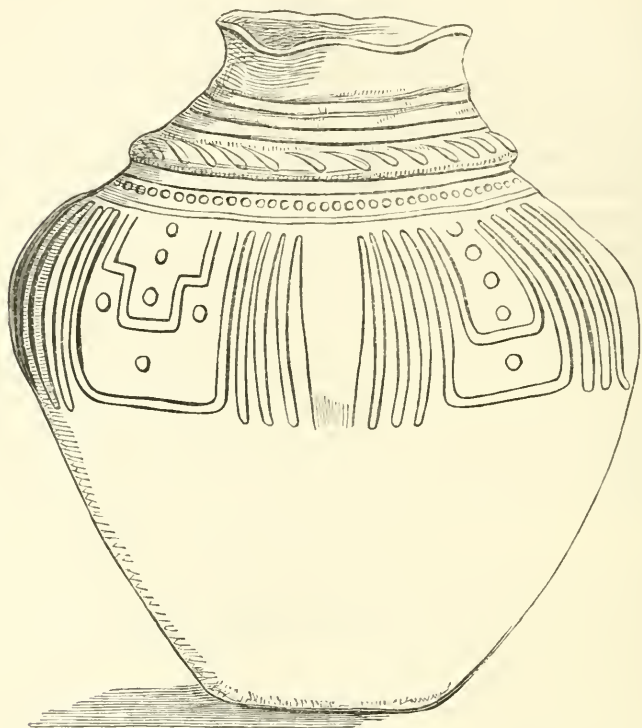
From the Editor. The Autograph Miscellany, executed in perfect facsimile by J. Netherclift. 2 Nos. 1853. Folio.

The rev. Thomas Hugo, F.S.A., exhibited a very fine stone celt belonging to the second division in his arrangement (see *Journal*, vol. ix, pp. 63-71), taken from the bed of the Thames in October last.

Mr. Gunston exhibited three specimens of encaustic tile, the earliest of which was from Dorchester abbey, Oxon; another from Thame, in the

same county; and a fragment of one, beautifully inlaid, found near St. Bartholomew's hospital.

Mr. C. Elliott laid before the Association a fine cinerary urn (see annexed cut), bought by him at the sale of the late rev. R. Spurgeon, of



Norwich, who dug it up at Caistor in Norfolk. The bones form the remains after cremation of an entire interment, and are all human. Mr. Elliott also exhibited a terra cotta lamp from the same place, representing on its upper surface a gladiator.

Mr. W. H. Palin exhibited a large collection of keys and spoons, together with a knife and a sword, obtained during the past year in forming the new sewers at Greenwich. These articles, as may be supposed, belong to various times. Among them are five good specimens of keys of the fifteenth century, a pewter spoon of the time of Elizabeth, and a sword of the same period.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming brought forward the first of a series of papers on "Stone Implements"; this being devoted to the axes, adzes, hammers, and other allied tools and weapons. He began by pointing out the

importance of carefully studying the works of savage nations who still retain the use of stone implements, with a view of better comprehending the lithic relics discovered in the Britannic islands : suggesting that in the islands of the Pacific Ocean may yet be found a reflex of the habits and mode of life of our own rude ancestors. He then described in detail the more simple-formed varieties of the axe or *celt*, making a division between it and the adze ; enumerating the different kinds of mauls, axe-hammers (*Thor's hammers*), and axes with perforations for handles ; and closed the European division of the subject by condemning the theory of Thorlacius, who contended that these things were mere emblems of the power of Thor, the mighty thunder god of the north. The asserted discovery of stone implements in India was next noticed ; and Mr. Cuming then proceeded to the consideration of the relics exhumed from the sepulchral mounds of North America ; to the war axes and martels of the *Yookulty* of Nootka Sound, and of the axes and clubs armed with stone blades of the ancient and modern inhabitants of South America. The axes, adzes, etc., of the savages of the Oceanic regions were next dwelt upon, special mention being made of the terrible *meri* of the New Zealanders, and of the curiously hafted adzes from the Hervey's Group. After calling attention to the different formed axes, etc., peculiar to each quarter of the globe, Mr. Cuming made a few observations upon the races to whom the stone implements discovered in the Britannic islands were referrible, races which he conceived are spoken of in the old romantic chronicles as giants, and whose graves we still call giants' graves and giants' chambers, and whose existence must be carried back to the most remote periods of antiquity.

Mr. J. B. Scott exhibited two drawings made from fragments of sepulchral slabs discovered on the site of St. Benetfink, Threadneedle street, which will be particularized, with illustrations, in the next *Journal*.

MARCH 8.

Mr. Sadd, of Cambridge, sent for exhibition a fibula and an enamelled badge, which will be engraved, and appear in the next number of the *Journal*.

Captain Tupper exhibited a lock, elaborately carved, of about the year 1470-1480, found at Bridgewater, which will also be engraved for the next *Journal*.

Captain Tupper also exhibited a fine paalstab of bronze, lately obtained from Normandy. It was well cast, and sharp at the edges.

Mr. Cecil Brent exhibited a leaden token, having on one side the letters *r b*, and on the other a cross composed of five parallel lines. This token was probably a merchant's mark, and was found in ploughing a field between Canterbury and Fordwich.

The rev. T. Hugo exhibited five flint arrow heads, found at Clough, in the county of Antrim, in July 1850.

Referring to Mr. Syer Cuming's paper on "Stone Implements", read at the preceding meeting, Mr. Whichcord exhibited a valuable assemblage of articles from New Zealand, all of which were obtained during Captain Cook's second voyage of discovery, the most important of which consisted of: 1. An adze of green jade, about $8\frac{1}{4}$ inches long, and 2 inches across the keen edge. The adze of New Zealand differs from that met with in other islands of the Pacific, in having no rough stem to catch the cord which binds the blade to the haft, and in this respect, as well as in general form, resembles the stone implement known as the "Scandinavian type of celt". 2. A mass of obsidian, from which cutting implements have been split. 3. The typhonian-like image called *Tiki*, (ancestor) of green jade, the eyes set with mother-of-pearl, $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches high. 4. Female figure wrought of brown wood, $5\frac{3}{4}$ inches high. It has a monstrous head with protruding tongue like the Hindù goddess *Kali*, and her eyes are set with mother-of-pearl. The right arm is upheld, and the left hand spread upon the side: the whole surface of the body richly carved in imitation of the *amoco*. This interesting and curious image is of great rarity. 5. A lady's casket of brown wood, every part being carved in the richest and most elaborate manner, the handles at the ends consisting of projecting heads; five heads appearing on each side, and the handle which surmounts the cover is formed of two reclining figures with eyes of mother-of-pearl. 6. A conical object of brown wood, 8 inches long, said to be a whipping-top, the broad end and flat surface carved and set with shell. 7. Two trumpets, one carved with a head having shell eyes, the other covered with skin. 8. Two examples of the battledoor-shaped *meri*, one of whalebone, $14\frac{7}{8}$ inches long; the other of basalt, 15 inches long. 9. Two examples of the bill-hook-shaped *meri* of wood, the one $14\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, having the pommel carved with a head; the other $16\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, with a figure at the back of the blade, and a head on the pommel, and having its original wrist-loop made of the plaited fibres of the *Phormium tenax*, or New Zealand hemp. Mr. Whichcord also produced three other specimens from different localities: one a bracelet formed of a section of a large shell (*Turbinella*) worn by the natives of the New Hebrides as a mark of honour; another, a neck ornament from the same group of islands, consisting of the white cowry, called the poached egg (*Orulum Orum*) pendent from a loop of plaited human hair: and, lastly a barbed spear-head of bone from Terra del Fuego.

Mr. Pettigrew exhibited two fine specimens of carving in jade from New Zealand, which may be regarded as extraordinary proofs of the skill of the Maories lapidaries in working and polishing this hard and beautiful stone. The one is a small adze-blade, $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches long, and $2\frac{3}{8}$

inches across the edge, which is exceedingly keen: the other a very large example of the *Tiki* image, measuring no less than $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, with its eyes set with the brilliant naere of the haliotis.

Mr. Syer Cuming made the following communication "On the Meri of New Zealand."

"Among the most formidable and singular arms employed by the primitive tribes of New Zealand must be ranked the weapon called indifferently by the natives *meri* and *patiti*, and which was first made known in Europe under the more lengthy title of *patapattoo*. The *meri* has been described as a mace, a club, a bludgeon, and a tomahawk; but it seems in fact to be a compound of the axe, sword, and club; used not only in war, but also in giving the death-blow to a criminal. The *meri* is seldom less than a foot in length, and rarely measures more than 18 inches. It is wrought of various substances, wood, bone, basaltic-stone, and the beautiful green jade called *pounamu*, which is obtained from Tovy Pounamu, the most southern of the two islands of New Zealand. The grip is perforated for the admittance of a loop which passes round the warrior's wrist when he wields this terrible weapon; which when not in use is thrust through a waist-girdle, in the manner of a dagger. There are three distinct types of the *meri*: the most common is in the form of a battledoor, the blade having convex surfaces, and more or less sharp throughout its surrounding edges; the grip being rounded and terminating with a pommel bearing various decorations. The next type is a modification of the battledoor shape, the blade being more oval in outline with the centre of the edges cut away, so that the whole weapon bears some resemblance to a violin, and may be designated the fiddle-formed *meri*. This is by far the rarest of the three types. The last type exhibits a considerable change in form: it has a broad single-edged blade like a bill-hook, and recalls to our mind the awkward heavy daggers met with on some parts of the Gold Coast of Africa.

"I now proceed to lay before you some examples of the *meri*. Of the first, or battledoor type, we have several specimens. The first is of wood, and measures upwards of 21 inches, being far above the ordinary length. The pommel is carved on each side with arched ridges, and the aperture for the wrist-loop is of a square form. The next specimen is wrought out of a piece of the jaw-bone of the cacholot-whale. It measures 17 inches in length, is well polished, but unadorned with carving. It has a round aperture for the loop. In another specimen formed of bone, but unlike the last, it has flat surfaces: the pommel decorated on each side with boldly carved perforated scrolls and human eyes; a style of ornament reminding us of Saxon, or rather Runic works. This *meri* is 18 inches in length, and I have the authority of my learned friend Dr. Ernest Dieffenbach, the well-known historian of New Zealand, for stating that this specimen is of very considerable age and of great rarity.

“ I lately had the pleasure of exhibiting to you a *meri* of basaltic-stone measuring $14\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, and I now produce one of the same material of a smaller size, measuring only $12\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The pommel is wrought with grooves, and the round perforation for the loop has been evidently effected by drilling the stone from the two opposite sides; the perforation being very much larger at the orifices than at the centre.

“ Of the second, or fiddle-formed type of the *meri*, I may refer to the plates in the various editions of *Cook's Voyages*, where it is well represented.

“ Of the last, or bill-hook type of the *meri*, I have an exceedingly fine specimen. The pommel is wrought with the head of a Chimæra, very similar to the heads sculptured on the doorway arches of early Norman buildings. On the back of the blade next the grip is carved in alto-relievo a grotesque, or rather monstrous, human figure; the right hand resting on the breast, the left upon the abdomen. The shoulders, arms, buttocks, etc., are carved in imitation of the *amoco*, or tattooing, the favourite dermal decoration of the New Zealanders. It is believed that this figure represents some ancient chieftain, the sight of whose image would inspire the warrior with courage amid the strife of battle. This specimen is formed of rich brown wood, and measures $17\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length. It was formerly in the collection of sir Ashton Lever.

“ The *meri* must be considered as one of the ancient and obsolete weapons of the *Maories*, for it is no longer employed by them; its place being supplied by arms of European manufacture.

“ These instruments appear to have little or no connection with British antiquities, as no analogous weapons are met with, either in this country or Ireland; and yet they are not altogether without value, as affording examples of the mechanical skill of man in his primitive and unsophisticated condition; giving, as they do, a direct and unequivocal answer to those who cavil about what our rude ancestors would and could effect without the possession of tools of iron. In these arms we have indisputable proofs, that men destitute of metallic tools and utterly ignorant of metals, did with the aid of sharpened stones and shells, of teeth and pointed bones, work not only in solid wood and bone, but also in the hardest stone, forming the outline of their implements in a regular and given manner, decorating certain parts with carved embellishments, and boring the handles with square and cylindric perforations. These weapons are the tangible monuments of the laborious skill, the taste, the ingenuity, the industry of the wild savages of the Oceanic regions; and from all we can glean of the ancient inhabitants of Britain, we have no reason to place them in a lower grade of civilisation than the *Maories* of New Zealand.”

Mr. T. Gunston announced that he had last week visited New Cannon street, to watch the excavations now going on there. At twenty feet

from the frontage he found a very thick wall of Roman construction, composed of rubble with layers of red and yellow tiles, measuring twenty by thirteen inches. Near this a plaster floor of lime, sand, and broken brick, laid on the natural bed of gravel. Here and there, mixed with the earth, were several Roman remains. On the south side, close to the site of Gerard's hall, there were those now exhibited: 1. Part of the side of a very large amphora. 2. Three necks of gutturnii, one having a handle. 3. Lower part of a gutturnium. 4. Part of the rim of a mortarium. All the foregoing fragments are of a light-coloured terra cotta. 5. Eight pieces of ollæ, some of which are evidently from the Upchurch potteries, whilst others are of a much coarser fabric. 6. A small lucerna or lamp, of well-baked terra cotta, of a dark colour. It is in the highest state of preservation. 7. Twelve pieces of plain and figured Samian ware; two bear the potters' names, being MARTI and OF. SEVERI. 8. Bottom of a square ampulla of green glass.

The specimens discovered at the west corner of the street adjoining St. Mildred's church are: 1. A jug of light-coloured earth, 13 inches high, having a swelling body and a loop handle; the vessel bearing such a close similitude to one of the jugs on the sculptured stall in Ludlow church, figured in the *Journal*, vol. iv, p. 210, that no doubt can exist that it belongs to the same period (Richard II). 2. Neck with handle of a very large jug, the mouth measuring $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches in diameter, and when perfect must have nearly resembled in general form the one engraved in the *Journal*, vol. v, p. 26, but the surface is decorated with a peculiar trellis-pattern, like the "diamond-moulded glass" of ancient and modern days. It is made of light-coloured earth, the outside covered with a mottled green glaze. Date, apparently the last half of the fifteenth century. 3. Round dish or saucer, about $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch deep, and $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches diameter; the inside covered with a mottled green glaze. Probably of a somewhat later date than the previous specimen. 4. Bottom of a large jug, the edge impressed all round with the thumb, so as to produce a coarse kind of embellishment. It is covered with a dull brown glaze. Of the time of Elizabeth.

The rev. Mr. Hugo remarked that recently another name had been added to the list of potters. In the city of London had been found a specimen of what is commonly called Samian ware, with the maker's name NOTVS.

The remainder of the evening was occupied in the reading of a paper, by the rev. Beale Poste, "On the Sea Margins of Kent, and the Formation of Levels and the later alluvial Tracts; in connexion with historical and archæological research: as also Inroads of the Sea in various parts of the coast, as applying to the same subject." Mr. Whichcord from personal knowledge confirmed many of the statements made by Mr. Poste in relation to the coast of Kent.

Mr. Pettigrew called the attention of the meeting to the recent discovery in Broad street of a Roman tessellated pavement, measuring about thirty feet square. He remarked that those who were familiar with the pavements at Woodchester, at Bignor, and at Cirencester, would feel disappointment on viewing the one lately found in the City, which had been mended in several places and the pattern disturbed, besides that it was imperfect in many parts. The centre figure was injured, and offered the not uncommon representation of Ariadne on the panther. Mr. Pettigrew observed that as the Society of Antiquaries were to have a drawing of it, and a description from the pen of Mr. Tite, he had not given any directions respecting it, as it would appear in the *Archæologia*.

MARCH 22.

William Douglas Bennett, esq., of Guilford road, South Lambeth, was elected an associate.

The following presents were received :

From the Isle of Wight Literary and Philosophical Society. Their Reports for 1852 and 1853. 8vo.

From the Society. Mémoires de la Société Dunkerquoise pour l'Encouragement des Sciences, des Lettres et des Arts. Dunkerque, 1853. 8vo.

— Exposition Dunkerquoise; Catalogue des Ouvrages de Peinture, etc. Ib., 1853. 8vo.

From the Author. Architectural Studies in France, by the Rev. J. L. Petit, M.A., F.S.A. London, 1854. Royal 8vo.

From J. G. Nichols, Esq. The Gentleman's Magazine for January, February, and March. 8vo.

The rev. Mr. Hugo presented to the Association a collection of various fragments of pottery, etc., obtained in excavations made in the City of London, to be deposited with other similar specimens already in the possession of the society.

Mr. O'Connor exhibited a dagger of the close of the seventeenth or beginning of the eighteenth century, which, though somewhat resembling the old hunting knives in form, is doubtlessly a cultellum employed as a guard in fighting with the sword, the practice of which is so well displayed in plates 41 and 42 of Angelo's *Treatise on Fencing*. The blade is about a foot in length, sharp on one edge; the back broad at the upper part, but becoming sharp towards the point. On both sides are stamped the Prussian eagle holding the sceptre and orb, and the word POTSDAM. The horn hilt and brass cross-guard appear to have originally belonged to another weapon. In the Meyrick collection is an anelace from the same manufactory, having on it the words, "Regent: Printz Carl, Potsdam. F. W. R."

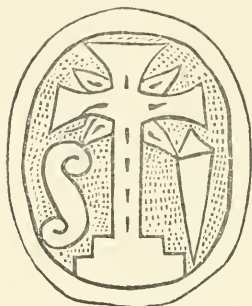
Captain Tupper exhibited a Roman key found at Fairford, near Bath.

The rev. E. Kell forwarded a communication from B. Barrow, esq., honorary secretary of the Literary and Philosophical Society of the Isle of Wight, being an account of the examination of some ancient British tumuli made by the Society, together with drawings of the antiquities discovered, which will appear in the next *Journal*.

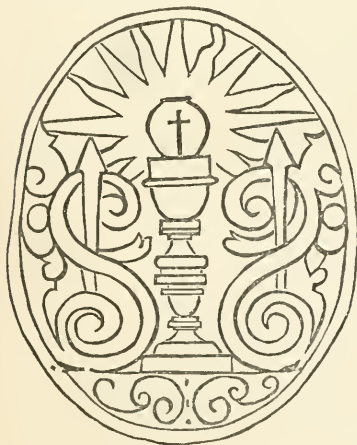
Mr. Pettigrew laid before the Association a reliquary which had been exhibited in 1851. (See *Journal*, vol. viii, p. 161.) He was induced again to bring it under the notice of the Association, having received the rubbing of one of a similar character from the rev. Daniel Haigh, the history of which tended most satisfactorily to put aside the pretensions to great antiquity which had been attached to it by its owner. From Mr. Haigh, Mr. Pettigrew learned that these reliquaries are not unfrequently found amongst the old Catholics in this country. The one now



e-exhibited has on each side a cross as seen in the annexed cut, a scroll, and apparently a nail; and on the reverse of the silver box are the same characters conjoined in one figure, though it has been almost obliterated by a modern inscription engraved upon it, and assigning it to Benedict, bishop of the seventh century, in whose coffin it was reported to have been found. Mr. Haigh possesses a similar reliquary, though larger in size, and it has the same device repeated on each side of a monstrance, (see annexed cut) and this reliquary had on the other side a scroll of the time of James



I, or Charles I. The device is s. j. "Societatis Jesu". Inside the reliquary exhibited by Mr. Pettigrew is the Virgin Mary under a canopy which is decidedly not "Gothic", and on the reverse Saint Joseph and the infant Jesus. Inside Mr. Haigh's specimen is the Virgin Mary done precisely in the same style, with a cherub at her feet. Mr. Haigh's specimen also contains some relics disposed in the interstices of two monograms, both of jesuit origin. There can be no doubt whatever as to the age or ownership of such reliquaries as these. They owe their origin to the missionary



priests, chiefly jesuits, who were continually finding their way into this country at the risk of their lives, to look after the scattered Catholics during the reigns of Elizabeth, James I, and Charles I, so that this reliquary cannot be but of the end of the sixteenth at earliest, or even of the seventeenth century.

Mr. F. J. Baigent made the following communication from Woolhampton, near Newbury in Berkshire :

“ The church of this village consists only of a nave and chancel. The latter being of the early English style, having in its side walls narrow lancet-headed windows : its eastern wall was rebuilt in the last century in brickwork, having a large and *secular* looking window, such as may frequently be seen in similar improvements of the eighteenth century. In the pavement of this chancel is inserted a large coffin-shaped slab, interesting as the monumental memorial of its builder ; having inscribed in Lombardic characters round its edge : *HIIC : JACET : RICARDVS : DE : HERCLOND : RECTOR : HVIYS : LOCI : CONDITOR : CANCELLI :* These letters were in brass, but all that now remains are the sunken cavities or matrices of the letters : other instances exist of inscriptions of a similar character, for instance, that round the slab of lady Margaret de Camoys (A.D. 1310) in Trotton church, Sussex ; and also round the tomb of sir John de Aubernoun (A.D. 1277) in Stoke d'Abernoun church, Surrey. I am not aware of any example in its perfect state, that is, retaining the metallic letters. This slab, from the architectural character of the chancel, cannot be of later date than 1250 ; though I should be inclined to say its date is the early part or beginning of the thirteenth century. As every early example of the use of metal for monumental purposes is highly interesting, especially that forming separate letters of brass inlaid in sunken cavities formed for their reception on the face of stone slabs, I have been induced to send this communication. The nave of the church may be of the same date as the chancel, but it has undergone many alterations and improvements of later years, so as to leave but little traces of its original character.”

A second paper, by Mr. F. J. Baigent, was then read, “ On the Discovery of Mural Paintings at St. John's, Winchester”, for which see *ante*, pp. 53-87, and plates 4-13.

APRIL 12.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

RALPH BERNAL, ESQ., M.A., PRESIDENT (*in the Chair*).

THE Auditors presented the accompanying statement of the accounts of the Association for the past year, and made the following report :—

RECEIPTS.

	£.	s.	d.
1853.			
Life and Annual Subscriptions	366	7	0
<i>Donations in aid of the Illustrations of the Journal:</i>			
By the Rev. T. Hugo, M.A.			
Three Plates in Illustration of Celts.			
Two ditto of Fetterlocks.			
One of Medallion on Roman Sarcophagus.			
One of Statue of Bishop Gundulf.			
By H. C. Pidgeon, Esq.			
One Plate in Illustration of a Roman Sarcophagus and various Drawings.			
By Thos. Bateman, Esq.			
Two Woodcuts of a Horn Book.			
By A. White, Esq.			
Engraving of Gerard's Hall Crypt.			
By Dr. W. Beattie.			
Engraving of Rochester Castle.			
By Charles Baily, Esq.			
Various Drawings illustrative of Gerard's Hall Crypt.			
Balance from Rochester Congress	38	5	0
Sale of Journals	39	1	0
	<u>£443</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>0</u>

April 10, 1854.—CHAS. WARNE; CHARLES BRIDGER.

PAYMENTS.

	£.	s.	d.
1853.			
Printing and Publishing Journal, Nos. xxxii to xxxv inclusive	263	3	6
Binding Vol. viii	11	5	0
Illustrations of Journal, Nos. xxxii to xxxv	154	17	7
Miscellaneous Printing	10	12	10
Rent of Sackville Street Rooms for Public Meetings	13	13	0
Collector's Commission, Payments for Delivery of the Journals, Gratuities to Servants	31	9	0
Purchase of Books, Manuscripts, Transcripts, and Examination of City and other Antiquities	9	19	6
Postage of Circulars, Advertisements, etc.....	14	18	0
Stationery	5	16	4
Petty Expenses	4	18	0
	<u>520</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>9</u>
	443	13	0
Due to the Treasurer...	<u>£76</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>9</u>

Auditors' Report.

WE, the auditors elected at the Annual General Meeting of April 1853, have duly examined the accounts of the BRITISH ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION, and find them to be correctly stated and accurately kept. It appears that during the past year the sum of £366 : 7 : 0 has been received on account of life and annual subscribers, being a small increase upon that of any previous year, and added to amounts received under other heads makes a total of £443 : 13 : 0, whilst on the other hand there has been paid the sum of £520 : 12 : 9, leaving a balance of £76 : 19 : 9 due to the treasurer.

It is necessary to state, that notwithstanding the efforts made to keep the subscriptions paid up, there are still one hundred and twenty-eight unpaid, whereof forty-seven belong to members who are at present abroad. It is satisfactory to remark, that a larger number of associates have been elected during the past year than in any preceding one, there being no less than eighty members added to the list, together with five foreign members, and one corresponding. On the other hand, the Association has sustained the loss of nine associates by death, one foreign member, and one corresponding; twenty-seven associates by withdrawal, and the Council have been under the necessity of erasing from the list eleven members, who after repeated applications have failed to pay their subscriptions, amounting to the sum of £43 : 1 : 0.

Upon looking to previous statements it appears that the expenditure of the Association has been allowed to exceed its receipts; as in 1850, there was due to the treasurer the sum of £67 : 1 : 11; in 1851, £46 : 19 : 10; in 1852, £31 : 12 : 9, and in the present year, the sum of £76 : 19 : 9, making a total of £222 : 14 : 3.

At the same time that we express our unqualified approval of the practice of the treasurer to pay up every year the total amount due from the Association, so that no liability whatever shall attach to the Association, we think it highly incumbent upon the Association to take some steps towards liquidating the debt now due, and no longer to trespass upon the liberality of that officer. The debt has evidently arisen by the expense incurred on the *Journal*, particularly as regards its illustrations, which during the past year have been unusually heavy, by including payments made on account of several drawings and plates not yet employed, from the necessity of a large number to do justice to the papers, and also by the colouring requisite to give a due effect to the illustrations. The same necessity exists in what is now in progress; and it is incumbent therefore on the members to adopt some method, either by voluntary subscriptions, or by extensive additions to the list of subscribing associates, to make good the deficiency which at present exists. In proposing this for the consideration of the General Meeting, we beg to express our

opinion, that the extent of the *Journal* and its accompanying illustrations as now put forth each year is beyond the means of the Society, and also beyond that which is published by any other Society, the subscription to which is even of greater amount than that of the Association. The volume of the *Journal* just completed consists of upwards of four hundred and fifty pages of original matter, and of thirty-six plates, besides various separate wood-cuts, and is such as could not be published by a bookseller for a less sum than twice the amount of the subscription for which it is now obtained by the associates.

We have thought it right to call the attention of the General Meeting to these circumstances, not from any uneasiness entertained by us with regard to the solvency or stability of the Association. On the contrary, it is in a progressively increasing condition, and the stock possessed by the Society, and its other property, is of a considerable amount, and every year becoming of additional value.

CHAS. WARNE.

CHARLES BRIDGER.

April 10th, 1854.

The Treasurer read the following lists of members deceased, withdrawn, erased, and elected.

Deceased members, 1853 :

- | | |
|---------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1. Lord Skelmersdale | 6. J. Dodsley Cuff, esq., F.S.A. |
| 2. Sir Francis W. Myers | 7. Sir Wm. Betham, Knt., Ulster |
| 3. Earl Ducie | 8. Henry Brown, esq. |
| 4. Thomas Blowen, esq. | 9. Seth W. Stevenson, esq., F.S.A. |
| 5. Samuel Holehouse, esq. | |

Foreign Member.—1. M. de Gerville, Hon., F.S.A.

Correspondent.—1. Edward Dunthorne, esq.

Members withdrawn :—

- | | |
|-------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. Captain Smith, R.M. | 15. P. B. Ainslie, esq. |
| 2. John Phillips, esq. | 16. Wm. Shipp, esq. |
| 3. C. R. Colville, esq. | 17. Thomas Barton, esq. |
| 4. B. Winbolt, esq. | 18. Bolton Corney, esq. |
| 5. Robert Curling, esq. | 19. T. S. Reed, esq. |
| 6. James Cook, esq. | 20. Joseph Dnrham, esq. |
| 7. David Faleke, esq. | 21. Jeremiah Crafter, esq. |
| 8. Augustus Mordan, esq. | 22. John Tissiman, esq. |
| 9. Wm. A. Combs, esq. | 23. Rev. D. P. M. Hulbert |
| 10. Daniel Hewitt, esq. | 24. Richard Keene, esq. |
| 11. Thos. B. Vacher, esq. | 25. Dr. J. P. Bell |
| 12. Edward Falkener, esq. | 26. S. W. Fitch, esq. |
| 13. J. G. Cottingham, esq. | 27. Samuel Barker, esq. |
| 14. M. A. Lower, esq., F.S.A. | |

Erased for non-payment of subscriptions :—

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. Francis Crossley, esq., Montagn-street, Whitechapel | 6. Charles Lee, esq., Golden-square |
| 2. James Drew, esq. Manchester | 7. Rev. G. C. Nicholay, King's College. |
| 3. Thomas D. Hibbert, esq., Temple. | 8. W. Harry Rogers, esq., Carlisle-street |
| 4. George Hyde, esq., Halkin-street. | 9. W. J. D. Roper, esq., Hampstead |
| 5. J. P. Knight, esq., Hibernia-chambers, Southwark | 10. J. Stelfox, esq., Manchester. |
| | 11. A. W. Woolley, esq., Manchester. |

Associates elected in 1853 :—

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|---|--|
| 1. J. L. Allen, esq., Artillery-place | 43. James Lewis, esq., Rochester |
| 2. Edmund Aubertin, esq., Clipsted, Surrey | 44. Robert Lockhart, esq., Glasgow |
| 3. J. F. Baigent, esq., Winchester | 45. Rev. Henry Mackarness, Dymchurch |
| 4. Geo. H. Bascomb, esq., Chiselhurst | 46. Chas. Marshall, esq., Whitehall-place |
| 5. Ralph Bernal, esq., M.A., Eaton-sq. | 47. John Matthewes, esq., Cloudesley-terrace |
| 6. Edw. L. Betts, esq., Preston-hall, Kent | 48. Michael Meredith, esq., Great Winchester street |
| 7. George F. Blandford, esq., 7, Lower-grove, Brompton | 49. John Monckton, esq., Maidstone |
| 8. Thomas Blown, esq., Bermondsey | 50. Rev. W. Jephson Newman, Badsworth Rectory |
| 9. Cecil Brent, esq., Albert-street | 51. Hilary Nicholas Nissen, esq., Trinity-square |
| 10. John Brent, jun., esq., F.S.A., Canterbury | 52. John Pace, esq., Onslow-square |
| 11. John W. Bridges, esq., Tavistock-sq. | 53. Sir Joseph Paxton, Knt., Derbyshire |
| 12. Lawrence Burleigh, esq., Devonshire-square | 54. William Palmer, esq., George-street |
| 13. Geo. A. Cape, esq., Walcot-place | 55. George Phillips Parker, esq., Mark-lane |
| 14. Rev. David Carson, M.A., Chesterfield-street | 56. Henry Pemberton, esq., William-street |
| 15. Geo. Smith Chapman, esq., 1, Birchinn-lane | 57. Jonathan Silk Pidgeon, esq., Reading |
| 16. E. S. Clarke, esq., for Bishopsgate Book Club | 58. Plymouth Library |
| 17. J. N. Clarke, esq., for Hull Library | 59. Mrs. Prest, Spring Gardens |
| 18. John Joseph Cotman, esq., Thorpe | 60. Baron Mayer Amschel de Rothschild, Mentmore |
| 19. Sir John Harpur Crewe, Bart., Calke Abbey | 61. Wm. Rutter, esq., Hare-court, Temple |
| 20. Henry Criddle, esq., Hill-road, Abbey-road | 62. Robert Sadd, jun., esq., Cambridge |
| 21. J. C. Cumming, M.D., Cadogan-place | 63. David Salomons, esq., Ald., Great Cumberland-place |
| 22. Charles John Curtis, esq., Ely-place | 64. T. Godfrey Sambrooke, esq., Eaton-square |
| 23. Charles Edward Davis, esq., Bath | 65. Frederick Sandys, esq., Osnaburgh-st. |
| 24. John Davis, esq., Kilburn | 66. Miss Georgina Smith, Weymouth st. |
| 25. The Earl Ducie, Totworth, Gloucestershire | 67. Thomas Sidney Smith, esq., Trinity-square |
| 26. Alfred Eyre, esq., Norland-square | 68. John William Stanbridge, esq., Hoxton |
| 27. John K. Fowler, esq., Aylesbury | 69. Robert Thorburn, esq., A.R.A., Gloucester-square |
| 28. Henry Gunston, esq., Goswell-road | 70. John Newman Tweedy, esq., Montagu-square |
| 29. Rev. Edward Hale, Eton College | 71. Captain Leicester Smith Vernon, M.P., Ardington |
| 30. Henry Hatton, esq., Chinnor, Oxon | 72. Hon. Francis Villiers, M.P., Berkeley-square |
| 31. John Hay, esq., Brewood, Staffordshire | 73. Wykeham Wheeler, esq., Shelton, Staffordshire |
| 32. Francis Hobler, esq., Bucklersbury | 74. William Curtis Whelan, esq., Herondon Hall, Kent |
| 33. John Baker Hopkins, esq., Mark-lane | 75. Rev. Robt. Whiston, M.A., Rochester |
| 34. Rev. Robert Hornby, M.A., Lythwood-hall, Shrewsbury | 76. Rev. John White, M.A., Grayingham Rectory, Kirton in Lindsay |
| 35. J. R. Jobbins, esq., Warwick Court | 77. Thos. Williams, esq., Hammersmith |
| 36. Alfred A. Jones, esq., Paragon, Kent-road | 78. Thos. James Wiltshire, esq., Reform Club |
| 37. Henry W. Joy, esq., Maidstone | 79. B. Eveleigh Winthrop, esq., Dover |
| 38. Thos. Reginald Kemp, esq., Nicholas-lane | 80. George Thomas Woodrooffe, esq., Lincoln's-inn |
| 39. James Kendrick, M.D., Warrington | |
| 40. Samuel Lepard, esq., Newington-place | |
| 41. Alexander Lamond, esq., Gloucester-road | |
| 42. W. Okey Lamond, esq., ditto | |

Foreign Members.

1. Don Antonio Delgado, Memb. Acad. of History, Madrid.
 2. Don Joachim Maria Bover, Knight of Malta, and Secretary to the Queen of Spain, etc., Minorca.
 3. Count Leon de Laborde, Hon. F.S.A., Paris.
 4. Mons. Coste, Marseilles.
 5. Mons. Dassy, Marseilles.
- Correspondent*—George Henry Adams, esq., Rochester.

The following resolution was then proposed and unanimously carried :

“That the thanks of the Association be given to Charles Warne, esq., and Charles Bridger, esq., the auditors of the accounts for the past year, for their great attention to their duties, and for the able and valuable report submitted by them to this meeting.”

Mr. Bridger having acknowledged this vote, the report was taken into consideration, and the following resolutions, proposed by Mr. White and seconded by Mr. Whichcord, were unanimously agreed to :

1. “That, whilst this meeting fully recognizes the correctness of the principle, and approves, in the most unqualified manner, the practice of the treasurer in keeping the accounts of each year perfectly distinct from each other, and in discharging the several debts as they occur, it yet laments that that officer should have been subjected to the necessity of making payments to the amount of £222 : 14 : 3 in advance of that which has been received by him on account of the Association.”
2. “That this meeting agrees entirely in the opinion expressed by the auditors, that it is incumbent upon the Association to discharge the debt now due to the treasurer as soon as possible, and for that purpose, and in order to obviate the necessity of diminishing the number of illustrations in the *Journal*, or abridging its extent (seeing already that the abundance of matter for its future pages is so very extensive), do hereby propose to establish a fund, to be called “THE DONATION FUND,” the contributions to which shall be perfectly voluntary, and that the names of the contributors be published in the *Journal*.”
3. “That it be recommended to the council to regulate, as far as possible, the future extent of the *Journal*, in accordance with the receipts derived, either from the subscriptions of the Associates, or by the contributions to the Donation Fund, and that the members be requested to further the sale of the volumes of the *Journals* among their friends, by which, not only the funds of the society will be increased, but its great usefulness also made more manifest.”
4. “That it be referred to the council to carry out the above resolutions in the manner they shall think most advisable.

The following subscriptions to the Donation Fund were then immediately announced :

		£	s.	d.
Ralph Bernal, Esq., M.A. (<i>President</i>)	-	-	5	0 0
Sir Fortunatus Dwaris (<i>Vice-President</i>)	-	-	5	0 0
S. R. Solly, Esq. (<i>Vice-President</i>)	-	-	5	0 0
T. J. Pettigrew, Esq. (<i>Vice-President</i>)	-	-	5	0 0
J. R. Planché, Esq. (<i>Secretary</i>)	-	-	5	0 0
Alfred White, Esq. (<i>Registrar</i>)	-	-	5	0 0
An Associate	-	-	5	0 0

Beriah Botfield, Esq.	-	-	-	-	5	0	0
William Wansey, Esq.	-	-	-	-	5	0	0
John Whichcord, Esq.	-	-	-	-	5	0	0
Arthur Ashpitel, Esq.	-	-	-	-	5	0	0
Nathaniel Gould, Esq.	-	-	-	-	5	0	0
Charles Bridger, Esq.	-	-	-	-	5	0	0
R. Horman-Fisher, Esq.	-	-	-	-	5	0	0
George Vere Irving, Esq.	-	-	-	-	5	0	0
John Ellis, Esq.	-	-	-	-	5	0	0
Sir Gardner Wilkinson	-	-	-	-	3	0	0
Dr. Wm. Beattie (<i>Foreign Secretary</i>)	-	-	-	-	2	2	0
W. Calder Marshall, R.A.	-	-	-	-	2	2	0
Walter Hawkins, Esq.	-	-	-	-	2	2	0
W. V. Pettigrew, Esq., M.D.	-	-	-	-	2	0	0
Rev. A. F. Pettigrew, M.A.	-	-	-	-	2	0	0
Rev. S. T. Pettigrew, M.A.	-	-	-	-	2	0	0
Thomas Lott, Esq.	-	-	-	-	2	2	0
Thomas Richards, Esq.	-	-	-	-	2	2	0
John Bartlett, Esq.	-	-	-	-	1	0	0
W. H. Palin, Esq.	-	-	-	-	1	0	0
George N. Wright, Esq.	-	-	-	-	1	0	0
H. S. Cumming, Esq.	-	-	-	-	1	1	0
Charles Baily, Esq.	-	-	-	-	1	1	0
Edward Pretty, Esq.	-	-	-	-	1	1	0

The thanks of the meeting were then severally and unanimously voted, for services rendered to the Association during the past year :

To Ralph Bernal, esq., M.A., President.

To the Vice-Presidents.

To the Treasurer.

To the Honorary Secretaries.

To the Registrar, Curator, and Librarian.

To the Council.

To the contributors to the *Journal*, and the exhibitors of antiquities to the public meetings.

These having been duly acknowledged, a ballot was taken for officers and council for 1854-5, when the following were declared elected :

PRESIDENT.

RALPH BERNAL, M.A.

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

F. H. DAVIS, F.S.A.	T. J. PETTIGREW, F.R.S., F.S.A.
SIR FORTUNATUS DWARRIS, F.R.S., F.S.A.	S. R. SOLLY, F.R.S., F.S.A.
JAMES HEYWOOD, M.P., F.R.S., F.S.A.	E. G. HARCOURT VERNON, M.P.
JOHN LEE, LL.D., F.R.S., F.S.A.	SIR J. GARDNER WILKINSON, F.R.S.

TREASURER.

T. J. PETTIGREW, F.R.S., F.S.A.

SECRETARIES.

CHARLES BAILY, F.S.A. | REV. THOMAS HUGO, M.A., F.S.A.
J. R. PLANCHÉ (*Rouge Croix*).

Secretary for Foreign Correspondence—WM. BEATTIE, M.D.

Registrar, Curator, and Librarian—ALFRED WHITE.

Draftsman—HENRY CLARKE PIDGEON.

COUNCIL.

Wm. F. Ainsworth, F.S.A.
Arthur Ashpitel, F.S.A.
W. H. Black
H. Syer Cuning
Henry Duesbury
John Ellis
George Godwin, F.R.S., F.S.A.
Nathaniel Gould, F.S.A.

James O. Halliwell, F.R.S., F.S.A.
Roger Horman-Fisher.
George Vere Irving
Henry Lawes Long
Thomas Lott, F.S.A.
Christopher Lynch
W. Calder Marshall, R.A.
William Meyrick

John Whichcord, F.S.A.

AUDITORS.

Wm. H. Palin.

John Wimbridge, F.S.A.

The President then called upon the Treasurer for his notices of the deceased members, which were ordered to be printed, together with the proceedings of the annual meeting, in the ensuing number of the *Journal*; and the meeting adjourned.

Obituary.

ALTHOUGH each year hitherto since its formation has brought to the Association an increase of members, it has yet occasioned deep regret at the losses we have experienced by the decease of many of its oldest friends. In the year 1852 we had to deplore the death of sixteen associates, one foreign member, and one correspondent; in 1853 we have sustained the loss of nine associates, one foreign member, and one correspondent, and among these are some of our earliest friends and excellent contributors.

The RIGHT HON. EDWARD BOOTLE WILBRAHAM, LORD SKELMERSDALE, joined our Association on occasion of our visit to Lancashire in 1850, and kindly assisted us with some important documents relating to the family of Latham. The substance of these will be found in the communications of W. Langton, esq., of Manchester, and J. R. Planché, esq., in the paper on the Stanley Crest, inserted in the sixth volume of our *Journal*, (p. 199, and vii, pp. 415-20) which excited so much and so deserved interest, and in which the matter derived from Lord Skelmersdale's documents is printed. Lord S. reached a good old age, having been born in 1771. He died on the 3rd of April, 1853, having for some time previous been in a very infirm state of health.

The RIGHT HON. HENRY GEORGE FRANCIS REYNOLDS MORETON, EARL OF DUCIE, had been associated with us from the year 1846, and took particular interest in the success of the Congress held at Gloucester in that year. He was born in May 1802, and died in June 1853, being only fifty-one years of age. Previous to his accession to the peerage, in which he was the second earl of Ducie and baron Moreton, he represented in Parliament the western division of the county of Gloucester.

His lordship is better known as an enterprising and successful agriculturist than as an antiquary. In this pursuit he conferred no inconsiderable benefit on his country, by his attention to the breeding of stock, as was evinced by the high prices produced at the sale of his animals, consequent upon his decease. He was President of the Royal Agricultural Society, and most highly esteemed by that body. He was much beloved by his friends and his tenantry, and has been succeeded in his honours by his son Henry John, now earl of Ducie, who has honoured the Association by permitting his name to be enrolled as an Associate, and as the successor of his father.

SIR FRANCIS MYERS, K.C.S., was originally bred to the law, but had long ceased to practise. He joined the Association as a life member in 1845, and occasionally attended the meetings. He contributed a very interesting deed to the Society in 1846. It was one executed between King Henry VIII, and the Lord Admiral Howard, which preceded the expedition in which that nobleman lost his life in the year 1512. He died in May last at the age of sixty-four.

THOMAS BLOWEN, esq., of Southwark, was almost unknown to us as a member, he dying a few months after his admission. I am given to understand that he took great interest in antiquarian researches, and that had he survived, we should have derived much advantage from the information he possessed.

SAMUEL HOLEHOUSE, esq., was a member of the Association from its commencement, and made a donation to its funds prior to the adoption of a regular subscription. Those who took part in the visit paid by the Association to the City of London in January 1852, at which examination was made of the hall of the Company of Barbers in Monkwell-street, St. James-in-the-wall, and that neighbourhood, will recollect the interest he took in our researches, and the assistance he afforded us on this occasion, he being at the time one of the wardens of the Barbers Company. I was personally under great obligations to him for obtaining for me access to the charters and other documents relating to this ancient fraternity, the result of which has been printed in my account of the Barber Surgeons, to be found in the eighth volume of the *Journal*. (pp. 93-130).

JAMES DODSLEY CUFF, esq., F.S.A., of Prescott Lodge, Clapham New Park, was likewise one of our earliest Associates, and was anxious to render us assistance. So late as the Congress held at Newark in 1852, under the presidency of His Grace the duke of Newcastle, the state of his health not permitting his attendance at the meeting, he entrusted to his old and highly esteemed friend, our excellent Associate, W. D.

Haggard, esq., F.S.A., a series of Newark pieces, the coinage of Charles I, struck at that place, from the plate contributed by the neighbouring nobility and gentry for the use of their king. To Mr. Haggard, who equally with Mr. Cuff is distinguished by his knowledge of numismatics, we are indebted for an excellent paper on this subject printed in the *Journal* (vol. viii, pp. 257-260).

Mr. Cuff for some time previous to his decease, which occurred on the 28th of September 1853, in the seventy-third year of his age, laboured under severe illness, by which he was prevented from giving personal attendance either at the Association, the Society of Antiquaries, or the Numismatic Society. To the latter institution his contributions were numerous, that body having for its especial object the consideration of coins and medals, in the knowledge of which Mr. Cuff peculiarly excelled. Mr. Cuff was attached to the Bullion office of the Bank of England, and was on duty there during forty-eight years, most highly esteemed. He made a very fine collection of coins, well-known to all numismatists as embracing specimens of extraordinary value and rarity. An excellent judge in this matter, speaking of his collection¹, says: that of Saxon, it is supposed to be one of the most choice and extensive in the kingdom, containing some that are believed to be unique specimens, as are some of the ancient British. The coins from the Conquest are reported to be of the first order; so also as to the Scotch and Irish. Among the more rare and valuable pieces in the collection may be specified that given by Charles I, to bishop Juxon, when on the scaffold, the celebrated petition and Reddite crowns, the crown of Henry VIII, etc. This collection will be dispersed in June next, by a sale at Messrs. Sotheby and Wilkinson's, to extend over seventeen days, three of which are entirely devoted to the Anglo-Saxon coins, and we may venture to express our hope that many important specimens may be secured to the British Museum.

It may not be uninteresting to add, that Mr. Cuff derived the name of Dodsley from the connexion of his mother with the family of the celebrated bookseller of the last century, so well known to all literary men. She was the daughter of Isaac Dodsley, who was a schoolmaster at Mansfield, Notts; a man distinguished not only by his classical attainments, but also by his taste and information, and by his designs of, and application to, the very tasteful plantations which distinguished Prior Park, the residence of Allen, the friend of Pope and Warburton.

HENRY BROWN, esq., was connected with the bank at Chester, attended the congress held in that ancient city in 1849, at which time he joined the Association, and continued a member until his decease, much interested in its *Journal* and proceedings.

¹ See Gentleman's Magazine for Nov. 1853, p. 533.



In SETH WILLIAM STEVENSON, esq., F.S.A., we have to deplore the loss of one of our earliest associates. He joined us in 1845. To those who are familiar with Bentham's *History of Ely*, the labours of his father will be well known, and to the second edition of this excellent work, our late member devoted much time and attention, enriching it with considerable additions of great interest and value. The pursuits of both father and son were literary; they were the proprietors and editors of an excellent provincial paper, the *Norfolk Chronicle*, in which, upon the decease of our associate, an elegant and well deserved compliment was paid to his memory, he having been engaged in its interests for the space of forty-five years. "We lose," say his coadjutors, "his clear, comprehensive, and directing mind—his vigorous intellect, and comprehensive taste—the ready pen of the accomplished scholar—the needed advice in difficulty and emergency of such a matured age—and the high privilege of habitual intercourse with a noble-hearted English gentleman and christian. A rare concentration of qualities bestowed by providence in a position of life especially needing them, and ever used by their possessor for the worthiest and holiest of purposes." The limited acquaintance I had with Mr. Stevenson, makes me feel the justice of this eulogy. If any confirmation of it be necessary, it will be found in the respect and attachment of those with whom he constantly lived, by whose suffrages he was, although of manners retiring and most gentle, elected to the office of sheriff of the city of Norwich, in 1828, afterwards raised to the position of alderman, and in 1832 filled the office of mayor, to the great satisfaction of the corporation and the people of Norwich. Connected thus with municipal affairs, and having the conduction of an old established periodical requiring almost hourly attention, Mr. S. could have enjoyed but little leisure time, for the prosecution of those objects to which his taste would naturally lead him. He, however, by a judicious arrangement and order, which often exceeds in value even the higher possession of genius, was enabled to devote some portion of his attention to the pursuit of literary objects, apart from public and political considerations; and partaking of the general excitement felt at the termination of the war, by the glorious events on the plains of Waterloo, he contrived to visit that spot in company with captain Money, one well able to illustrate to him the circumstances connected with that proud and glorious military triumph. The result, as might be expected, was the publication of a volume, printed with the title of *Journal of a Tour through part of France, Flanders, and Holland, including a visit to Paris, and a walk over the field of Waterloo, in the summer of 1816*. This production he dedicated to a body, bearing the denomination of the Society of Friars of Norwich, a literary body of which he was almost the last surviving member. Norwich has ever been remarkable for the number and greatness of the literary men she has either given birth to, or who have domiciled

on her land, and in this society Mr. S. became in his time a distinguished member. The excitement of the excursion to Waterloo, in 1816, created the desire for another in 1828, which produced another work, published in 2 vols., 8vo., entitled *A Tour in Italy, Switzerland, Germany, and the Netherlands*, which was favourably received, and noticed with commendation. But Mr. Stevenson's literary labours did not cease with this publication; he was for many years, at all moments of leisure, engaged in composing a complete *Dictionary of Roman Coins*. Mr. Fairholt has been for some time past engaged in making drawings illustrative of this series, and I am informed that a portion of the work has already been printed, and that the MS. of the remainder is in such a state of preparation, as to warrant the expectation of seeing the work complete at no very distant period.

Mr. Stevenson paid particular attention to numismatics, and made several communications to the Numismatic Society. To our Association he exhibited a remarkably fine ivory casket belonging to the commencement of the fourteenth century, richly carved with legendary subjects. This casket has been justly regarded as one of the most interesting works of its kind, and has been beautifully engraved in the fifth volume of our *Journal*, with an illustrative paper from the pen of Mr. Thos. Wright.

In the summer of last year Mr. Stevenson became indisposed, and symptoms of general and premature decay speedily manifested themselves. He quitted Norwich to visit his son-in-law, Mr. John Deighton, of Cambridge, surgeon, and at his house expired on the 22nd of December, at the age of sixty-eight years.

Deeply as we must deplore the loss of associates such as I have just enumerated, it yet remains to me to complete the list of the past year's obituary by the mention of one to whom I was intimately known for more than a quarter of a century—one who had from the commencement of our Association taken an active part in our researches—contributed to our *Journal*—attended our congresses—sat at our council board—officiated as Vice-President in this room—and gained the regard and admiration of all—need I name the late Ulster King of Arms of all Ireland, sir W^m. BETHAM, knt. To those who have witnessed the manner in which he associated with us it is unnecessary for me to expatiate upon his unaffected manners, his good-humour, his extent of information, and the zeal with which he espoused any opinions he might entertain. The vivacity and occasional eccentricity, if I may use that term, in which he indulged, may perhaps be attributed in some measure to his long abode in the sister island, whose inhabitants are remarkable for their ready wit and humour; but sir W. Betham was not a native of Ireland, but born at Stradbroke, in Suffolk, May 22, 1779. From a pedigree recorded in the archives of the office of Ulster King of Arms, in the year 1817, I find the family of Betham traced from Ralph or Radulph de Betham, lord

of the manor of Betham, in Westmoreland, witness to the foundation charter of Cockersand Abbey, also to a deed of Alan de Penington, and gave a saltwork and two patellæ to the abbey of Furness, in Lancashire, *tempore* Henry II. Sir W. Betham was therefore descended from an ancient family, settled ever since the conquest at Betham, in Westmoreland, and subsequently at Strickland, in the same county. They were originally Montgomeries, but a younger son, who obtained a grant of the manor and estate of Betham, as was the fashion of that day, took the name De Betham from his estate, which afterwards went off through a female to the family of Middleton, and is now in the possession of Mr. Wilson, of Dallam Tower, Westmoreland.

The father of sir Wm. Betham was the rev. Wm. Betham, sometime of Stonham Aspul, in Suffolk, and afterwards rector of Stoke Lacy, Herefordshire, author of *Genealogical Tables of the Sovereigns of the World*, 1795, fol., and of a *Baronetage of England*, 1805, five volumes, quarto. In 1805 our late associate went to Ireland on business connected with the bringing out of this work, and called on sir Chichester Fortescue, who was then Ulster King of Arms. The office of arms was then held in a house in Eustace-street, Dublin, and was only open for one day in the week for two hours. Sir William at once saw what might be made of it, and offered to take all trouble off sir Chichester's hands, who was a rear-admiral in the navy, and knew little, if anything, of heraldic matters. Sir Chichester appointed him Deputy-Ulster, and Athlone Pursuivant, which offices he held with the approbation and friendship of every Lord-lieutenant from that time to his decease. Notwithstanding the manner in which the office appears to have been filled, it was yet one of considerable antiquity, and was originally styled "Ireland King of Arms"; but on occasion of the plantation of Ulster, out of compliment to that province, the name was changed to "Ulster King of Arms". It was formerly productive of considerable emolument, which continued down to the union, when the House of Lords, of which Ulster was an officer, being abolished, a great part of the duties, together with the emoluments, ceased, and sir Chichester Fortescue received a large pension as a compensation for his losses.

In 1806 sir W. Betham married Elizabeth, daughter of the rev. Cecil Burleigh Crampton, rector of Headport, county of Galway. Sir William's first appointment bears date in the year 1807. In 1812, he was appointed genealogist attendant upon the order of St. Patrick, and on July 15th, he received the honour of knighthood from the duke of Richmond, then lord lieutenant. In 1819 he attended as deputy ulster at the fourth installation of the knights of St. Patrick, in St. Patrick's cathedral, which was very magnificently conducted, principally under his direction. He had also previously been appointed deputy keeper of the records of the late Birmingham (Wardrobe) tower in Dublin castle. In

1820 sir Chichester Fortescue died, and sir William was appointed ulster king of arms on the 18th of April of that year.

It is much to be regretted, that appointments involving considerable responsibility, and entailing upon the possessors no little expense, should so often be attended with such trifling emolument. We have the evidence of sir William Betham before a Committee of the House of Commons on the Record Commission in 1836, that the fees for searches in the Birmingham Tower had not netted him £10 per annum. His principal business related to returns required by Parliament and government, for which he got nothing whatever but an allowance of £40 late Irish currency per annum for a clerk. The searches in the Office of Arms before sir William had it did not pay the salary of a clerk. His emoluments arose from his private collections of references and records, which he had collected and compiled for the last thirty years with almost incredible labour and application. They consisted of several hundred volumes, all methodized and furnished with indexes, thus rendered easy of reference, and by which he was enabled to assist any solicitor or other inquirer, on any given subject, genealogical, topographical, legal, or on any other question upon which the records of his office could throw any light. He states that by them he could generally make out the descent of property, or heirship of law, to any given individual; and point out the records to establish the necessary facts in a few days, or perhaps hours, and for a few pounds', or even shillings', fee; which, without his books so arranged, would have occupied weeks, months, and even years, to accomplish, and in some cases could not otherwise be made out at all. He abstracted all the ancient records in Birmingham Tower, as well as the Rolls of Pleas, as those of the Patent and the Pipe. He abstracted the inquisitions in the Rolls and Chief Remembrancer's offices before the Record Commission existed; also the whole of the wills in the Prerogative office from the earliest period to the year 1800; also the administrations and marriage licenses, which are now arranged in order as in a dictionary, and in tabular arrangement, so that all persons of one name may be found with as much ease as a word in a lexicon.

Sir W. Betham tells us, that he acquired by purchase many manuscript works by others, both ancient and modern, as the genealogical collections of the late John Lodge, esq., in ten folio volumes, and had copies made of several of the genealogical and historical manuscripts in Trinity College library and other depositories to assist in his researches, such as abstracts of the parish registers of Dublin, genealogical abstracts from the ancient pleadings of the Irish Chancery, and copies of Irish chartularies of monastic houses, etc., etc.; so that he had, to use his own words, centralized a body of information into his own library, such as no individual can do again who is not endowed with the same bodily health, ardent desire for such pursuits, unremitting assiduity, unwearied

application, and, above all, ready access to the records. The collection of manuscripts made by sir W. Betham is to be submitted to auction, by Messrs. Sotheby and Wilkinson, on the 1st June next. There are 198 lots. For the safe custody of the valuable records of the Birmingham tower, sir W. Betham received from the public purse the annual sum of twelve guineas. As the head keeper, the present earl Stanhope has been in the receipt of a salary of £500, late Irish currency (£461 : 11 : 0), from the date of his patent in 1805. Upon his lordship's death this will be abolished. As keeper of the parliamentary records sir William received no salary. From the office of Ulster he received a salary of £75 : 13 : 4. I have alluded to this information because it displays the assiduity of our late friend and associate, and serves as an illustration of the pursuit of knowledge under difficulties. Sir William was of very temperate habits, and laborious in the exercise of the duties of his office. The index he compiled to the names of all persons mentioned in the wills at the Prerogative Office, filled forty folio volumes; it was begun in 1807 and completed in 1828, and to the performance of this work he rarely devoted less than from eight to ten hours daily. He spent large sums in the acquisition of MS. treasures to aid his genealogical researches. He purchased, in addition to those already named, the repertories which had been made for Mr. William Lynch to the ancient records of the Exchequer of Ireland, deposited with the chief remembrancer of that court, for the sum of £200; and he became the possessor also of many important ancient Irish MSS., which in 1851 he parted with to the Royal Irish Academy. He was one of those who acted up to the principles of conservatism, for which we are particularly associated, and he has always advocated the necessity of greater attention to the preservation of the national records of Ireland, and the concentration of them in some general repository. These manuscripts are fast hastening to decay, and I therefore trust that our associate sir J. Bernard Burke, who has succeeded to the office held by the late sir W. Betham, will urge this matter upon the proper authorities; for I am certain no one will feel stronger than he the great import of these documents, both in a historical and legal point of view.

Sir W. Betham was admitted a member of the Royal Irish Academy in the year 1825, and officiated as Foreign Secretary for many years. A difference of opinion having arisen in regard to the Council declining to print sir William's papers on the Eugubian inscriptions, he ceased to take any part in their proceedings for some years; happily, however, a reconciliation was at length effected, and he continued to contribute to the Society's Transactions, in the volumes of which will be found papers "On an Astronomical Instrument of the Ancient Irish"; "On the Ring Money of the Celtæ and their system of weights, which appears to have been what is now called troy weight"; "On the Affinity of the Phœnician

and Celtic Languages, illustrated by the Geographical Names in Ptolemy and the Periplus of Arrian."

Sir W. Betham also contributed two papers to the *Archæologia*: "Copies of Two Bills in Chancery, respecting Property in Ireland, alleged to have been usurped upon by Edmund Spenser the Poet", and "A Description of an Ancient Seal found in a bog in the County of Derry, conjectured to have belonged to Moriartagh O'Neill." He was admitted into the Society of Antiquaries in 1824, but had retired from it some time prior to his decease. To our *Journal* he was also a contributor. In the first volume he gave an account of a Norman arch at the north porch of Therbertin Church, Norfolk, together with a description of an altar, tomb, and inscription, and an extract from the Common Place Book of Ralph Broke, York herald, concerning the appointment of Camden as Richmond herald. To the Congress held at Winchester in 1845, he also communicated a curious Statute Roll of Ireland, 38 Henry VI, printed in the Congress volume for Winchester. In the second volume he has furnished us with notices of the discovery of a book consisting of twelve or thirteen tables of box wood covered with wax, having been dug up in a bog in Ireland, and that the tables were inscribed with logical discussions in Latin; and he exhibited to us two specimens of gold ring money, one found at Chiusi, the other at Perugia, from a number of a similar kind that had there been discovered, and he showed that they precisely resembled those met with in Ireland. The third volume of our *Journal* contains the substance of a discourse he delivered at the Congress held at Warwick in 1847, on which occasion he exhibited forty-one sheets of beautiful drawings of Antiquities in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, which the Council of that learned body had intrusted to him to be laid before our meeting. On these sir William learnedly descanted, taking a very general and discursive view of the monuments and antiquities of Ireland, and comparing with them those of different parts of England and other localities. The fourth volume of the *Journal* gives an account of the discovery of eleven Etruscan coins found in digging for the foundation of a house in Arran Quay in Dublin; and in the fifth volume, a paper on Palatine honours in Ireland, being a condensed statement of observations made by him on occasion of our Congress at Chester in 1849.

In addition to the several communications thus made by sir W. Betham to various societies, he published several distinct works. His earliest of this description was, I believe, "Irish Antiquarian Researches", the first part of which appeared in 1826, the second in 1827. This work embraces an interesting account of very early Irish MSS., the Leabhar Dhimma, an ancient copy of the Gospels of the seventh century; the Psalter of Columbkille, of the sixth century, and probably the oldest Irish MS. in existence; the Book of Armagh of the seventh century, and in which

a Life of St. Patrick is to be found, forming altogether a volume of exceeding interest and curiosity. In 1829, sir William published two Genealogical Memoirs, one relating to the family of Talbot de Malahide, the other to Fleming of Slane, on both of which he had been professionally consulted; and in 1830 he published, at the suggestion of Lord Lyndhurst, "Dignities Feudal and Parliamentary, and the Constitutional Legislature of the United Kingdom." In 1834, he printed the first volume of a work intended to have been continued, and of much merit and importance, having for its title "The Origin and History of the Constitution of England, and of the Early Parliaments of Ireland." The indulgence of other enquiries appears to have prevented the further progress of this work, which has deservedly received great commendation; and we find sir William in the same year publishing a large 8vo. volume, "The Gael and Cymbri, or an Inquiry into the Origin and History of the Irish Scoti, Britons and Gauls, and of the Caledonians, Picts, Welsh, Cornish and Bretons", which was inscribed to king William IV, and followed in 1842, by *Etruria Celtica*, in two vols. 8vo., an investigation into Etruscan literature and antiquities, in which he contends for the identity of the Etruscan language with that of the Ibero-Celtic, and both of these with the Phœnician.

From even the preceding slight sketch of the life and labours of our late friend, his character must have become apparent. His aptitude for literary labour corresponded with his thirst for knowledge. No prejudices operated to check the exertions of his intellect, and his delight seems to have been to acquire and to impart information. The readiness with which he aided any inquiry is known to us all, and on the part of this Association I can say no application to him was ever made without being responded to in the most cheerful and satisfactory manner. If to be so regarded by us, the majority of whom knew him only as interested in and associated with antiquarian research, what must have been the estimation, love, and affection entertained for him in the bosom of his family?—that I know to have been boundless; and a deep regard and respect was also entertained for him by all around him, and by the poor of his neighbourhood in particular, to whom he was always most attentive and considerate; and it must be added that, on their part, they on more than one occasion during civil disturbances manifested their attachment to him by the preservation of his life and his property.

It remains only to add that his death was sudden, and arising from an affection of the heart. The shock of this occurrence was great to his friends and neighbours. He has been most sincerely lamented. PEACE TO HIS MANES.

Such have been our various losses among the associates of our body during the past year, but we have also to lament the decease of a distin-

guished foreign member, from whom, on many occasions, we have experienced good service. The name of De Gerville is well known throughout Europe as that of an eminent antiquary, and as one associated with most societies engaged in the prosecution of antiquarian research. To this Association he was particularly attached, and though far advanced in years, he never failed to manifest his zeal and anxiety for its advancement. For the particulars connected with the history of this celebrated man, I am indebted to a short memoir drawn up by another of our foreign members of distinguished learning and ability, one offering promise of great eminence by great and valuable additions to the knowledge of history and antiquities—M. Delisle—the worthy successor of his friend and teacher, De Gerville.

CHARLES ALEXIS ADRIEN DUHERISSIER, commonly known as DE GERVILLE, was born on the 19th of September 1769, at Gerville. His father was lord of the manor of that parish, from which he assumed the name of the seignior. In 1776 he was entered at the college of Coutances, and during nine years there prosecuted his studies, being remarkable for his application and activity of intellect. His taste for, and appreciation of, the beauties of classic authors were early developed, and remained in undiminished force to the end of his career. Quitting Coutances, he entered the university of Caen, where he remained two years, at the expiration of which time he returned home, and devoted himself particularly to the study of languages, diversifying his occupations by attention to botany and gardening, and the exciting pleasures of the chase. The French revolution, however, determined the fate of De Gerville; he was compelled to abandon the abode of his forefathers to travel through Belgium from Ostend to Liège to Trèves, where it may be remarked in the hotel in which he lodged, la Maison Rouge, he read this verse: *Ante Romam Treveris stetit annis mille trecentis*, which, although not then particularly attracting his attention, had its effect doubtless upon his future pursuits. Civil disturbances gave to him no time then for reflecting upon antiquarian or scientific subjects, and his notice was more especially directed to the grand abbeys of St. Paul and St. Maximin, which were likely to engage the attention of an acute and observant mind. Quitting Trèves with the third company of Norman emigrants, he proceeded to Bern-Castel, and so on to Liège. He now enrolled himself in the army of the duc de Bourbon. At the close of 1792 the marshal duc de Broglie gave to him with others leave of absence, on condition of returning if required, an eventuality that never happened, and in 1793 he quitted Holland for the shores of England. M. Delisle states in the words of M. de Gerville, as reported to him in 1850, that he travelled on foot through a considerable part of Holland, whence at Rotterdam he took the boat for Harwich, where he arrived, as he has himself particu-

larly noted, on the 3rd of January 1793. Having thus put foot on English ground, he proceeded, in company with another emigrant, whose passage by the vessel he had paid, to Colchester; thence to Chelmsford, and so to London, all on foot; and arrived in the city, he put up at the Black Bull in Leadenhall street. To sustain the journey he was under the necessity of parting with his gold watch and a pair of small pistols to the landlord at Lexden. Arrived in London, his companion and he separated. Wandering about an entire stranger, but knowing fortunately a little English, he proceeded as far as St. Paul's cathedral, and in his way met with an emigrant whose acquaintance he had made at Bern-Castel, who lived at Spitalfields, which abounded with emigrants, and upon his advice De Gerville determined to take lodgings in that quarter. In the house in which he resided were many silk weavers, and he set himself to work to translate for their benefit the English journals into the French language. In obedience to the provisions of the Alien Bill, he presented himself along with others before the magistrate at Worship street, and acted as interpreter to his brother emigrants. His manners and his ability attracted the attention of the magistrate, by whom he was graciously noticed. At the tavern in the neighbourhood frequented by the refugees was a gentleman whom they looked upon as an agent of the police. He had received a good education, and had travelled much. He could converse with de Gerville in Italian, and by him de Gerville was persuaded of his capability of teaching that language. He therefore removed to Lambeth, but in the spring of 1793 enrolled himself in the corps of Loyal Emigrants then in the course of formation, and passed over with it to Ostend, the inhabitants of which, he says, were astonished to observe their good conduct, and English officers were surprised to see the common soldiers playing billiards with their superior officers, and even with the duc de Chartres, who commanded them; but it must be recollected they were equally companions in misfortune and misery. His regiment was sent to Furnes, thence he passed to Dunkirk, and joined the army under the command of his royal highness the duke of York. He underwent many hardships from the inundations of the neighbouring marshes, the army having to proceed up to their knees in water, and at length they reached Wormhouth, where they met the dukes of Cumberland and Cambridge, and advanced to Cassel, there obtaining some few comforts. On the morrow, however, the army was attacked, and obliged to make a precipitate retreat, and they were ultimately completely routed.

It would be inconsistent, however interesting the subject might prove, in a notice professedly devoted to archæological considerations, to dwell upon the many hardships De Gerville was doomed to bear; but I cannot but express my admiration of the patience and resignation he manifested, and of that glorious spirit which sustained him under such sad reverses and extreme adversity. Returning to England, he was for some time

stationed at Ryde, in the Isle of Wight, and in 1796 we find him gaining his livelihood by giving instruction in Latin and Italian at Colchester. He had made acquaintance with the rev. John Hildyard, with whom he removed to Barton-on-Humber, and there renewed his botanical studies, a favourite pursuit, and one which seemed delightfully to solace him in his exile. I may here perhaps be permitted to make a remark, which an extensive acquaintance with those who have successfully cultivated natural history, I conceive, justifies me in asserting, that of all classes of individuals with whom I have been familiar, there is no one in whom affectionate feelings more deeply prevail than in that of naturalists. The contemplation of nature rarely fails to produce an elevation of character; it begets a sweetness of disposition, flowing from a sense of what is beautiful in creation; and the evidences of beneficence, everywhere so abundant, soften the feelings and impart to the individual a sincere benevolence of heart. This disposition seems to have been powerfully manifested in De Gerville, and his amiable biographer Delisle furnishes us with many instances illustrative of his affection, kindness, meekness, good will, and benevolence.

But I pass on to the more advanced period of De Gerville's career. Enabled to return to his native country, he quitted England in 1801 and returned to a father, then eighty years of age, at the point of quitting this world, and to a mother, who had suffered imprisonment by the revolutionary tribunal. The study of history, archæology, natural history, etc., now again fully occupied his attention; he remained some time at Gerville, but after ten years quitted his native place and took up his abode at Valognes. He published a catalogue of plants in 1827, and he aided Mons. Brebisson in his "Flora of Normandy." His geological researches obtained for him much praise, the Beds of Cotentin are known to geologists through his labours, and his interesting and highly scientific notices in connexion with these have deservedly attracted many visitors from this and other countries who had been enlightened by them, and who were now equally charmed by his illustrations. It is, however, to his labours in relation to archæology that I must confine my attention. Pursuing this object with undeviating zeal, he visited all the communes of his department, made long journeys every year, recorded observations, not only on the natural productions of the places he visited, but also made inquiries into the genealogies of the principal families, and with all matters connected with civil, religious, or military government. Roman antiquities formed an especial object of study by M. de Gerville, —no particular, however minute, in relation to this department of antiquities was permitted to escape him; he minuted all circumstances with the greatest care and assiduity, and he collected a very extensive museum connected with these researches, which has now passed into the hands of Mons. Feuardant, bookseller at Cherbourg, and comprises a fine assem-

blage of Roman coins and medals, and of those belonging to the medieval age. A portion of this collection was, however, in 1852, parted with to his friend and confrère, M. Deville, the Receiver-general at Alençon. The museum comprises also a large quantity of Roman pottery and glass, various Roman utensils, domestic implements, ornaments, mills, knives, etc. There are also inscriptions, and a variety of articles found in the tombs at Couvert, Neuville-au-Plain, Couville, abbey of Montebourg, etc. He made an examination of all the churches in the department of La Manche, and he has the merit of having been among the earliest to call the attention of his government to the preservation of these venerable edifices. His interference and representations have in many instances been successful in the conservation and restoration of several public monuments. The results of his laborious researches have been made known to the world through the medium of many antiquarian publications; but especially through the *Memoirs of the Society of Antiquaries of Normandy*, of which institution he was one of the founders. The establishment of this Society is justly regarded as one of the triumphs of the age. Mons. Delisle says, that prior to that time the churches and public buildings commanded no respect nor attention, save only from the admiration of the English. The study of them formed no part of national education or observation. To M. de Gerville in particular is owing a change of feeling which has been productive of the happiest results.

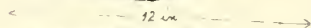
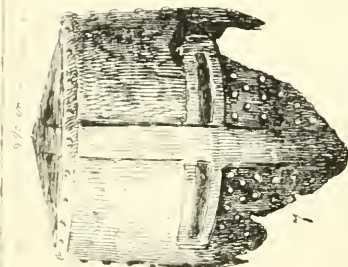
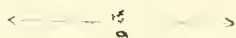
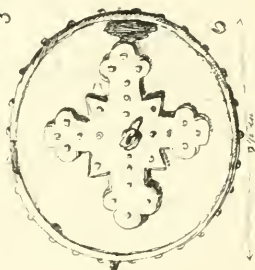
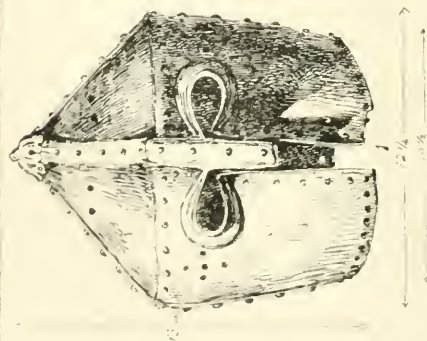
To the architecture which distinguishes the period extending from the time of Charlemagne to the twelfth century, M. de Gerville proposed to apply the term *Roman*, in which he has been followed by Mons. de Caumont and other learned archæologists. The *Mémoires of the Society of Antiquaries of Normandy* contain various important papers by M. de Gerville, among which we may enumerate *Recherches sur les Abbayes du Département de la Manche*; *Notice sur les Camps romains, dont on remarque encore les Traces dans le département de la Manche*; *Mémoire sur l'Etat des Ports de Cherbourg et de Barfleurs, pendant le Moyen Age*; *Recherches sur le Mont St. Michel*; *Mémoire sur les Villes et Voies romaines du Cotentin*; *Recherches sur le Hague-Dike et les premiers Etablissements militaires des Normands sur nos côtes*; *Sur les Noms de Lieu et les Noms d'Homme en Normandie*, etc. Mons. Delisle cites no less than thirty-one works which have emanated from the pen of M. de Gerville upon subjects of natural history, including botany, geology, conchology, recent and fossil; on Roman history, ecclesiastical architecture; abbeys; Merovingian antiquities; Druidical monuments; sarcophagi, etc.; and on the Roman remains of Lower Normandy, Alleaume, and other places, too numerous to be here specified. He also made many MS. collections of ancient chartularies of the religious houses of Normandy; registers, and other important documents preserved among the archives, many of which will doubtless form the basis of future publications.

It is time that I now call your attention to the particular services rendered to us by Mons. de Gerville, and to his communications which appear in our *Journal*. In the first volume, he made us acquainted with the discovery of 366 French and English gold coins near Barfleur; they principally belonged to the reigns of Charles XII of France, and of Henry V and Henry VI of England. He also gave an account of the progress of excavations made at Valognes at the expense of the government, on the site of the Roman Alauna. In the second volume is announced a further report of the excavations, and some observations on mistakes which had been made, confounding Cape la Hogue, near Barfleur, with Cape la Hague, the northern extremity of the coast of Cotentin in Normandy. This blunder, it is remarked, still remained in our modern maps of the French coast, and had been allowed to enter into most of our histories. The Council of the Association directed this paper to be transmitted to the Admiralty, and a translation of it was published in the *Nautical Magazine and Naval Chronicle*. In 1846, M. de Gerville reported the discovery of upwards of 500 Gaulish coins near Avranches in Normandy, specimens of the types of which he promised to send to the Association. These are given in the third volume of our *Journal*, from ten specimens in billon. The coins are known to numismatists as the Channel islands type, and are often found on the southern and south-western coasts of England, and have been confounded with British coins. Mr. C. R. Smith considered the whole as only varieties of one type, and originally borrowed from Greek coins. In the seventh volume of the *Journal* there is an extract from a letter addressed to Mr. Smith in relation to the mention of the abbey of Sévigny, near Lyons, which has often been confounded with that of the diocese of Avranches. The former was Benedictine, the latter Cistercian, to which the abbey of Furness in Lancashire belonged, A.D. 1120. But the most important communication received from M. de Gerville has been printed in our Winchester Congress volume: "Notes on Monastic Estates in Hampshire and other counties in the south of England, from chartularies in Normandy." It is scarcely necessary to add, that M. de Gerville was associated with various foreign academies and societies, and that they eagerly enrolled his name in the lists of their honorary and corresponding members. He was a foreign member of the Society of Antiquaries of London, and of Scotland, and also of our body. He was likewise attached to the Society of Antiquaries of the north at Copenhagen, and of the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres of Paris. He declined several honours offered for his acceptance, from an adherence to his ancient political opinions, and his attachment to the house of Bourbon, in defence of which, and for the restoration of which, he had willingly risked his life. Under the restoration, he filled various honourable appointments in the department of La Manche, which ceased upon the

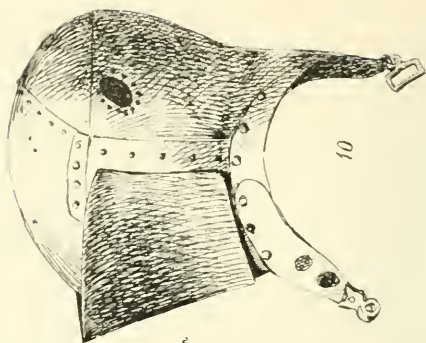
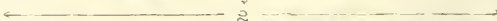
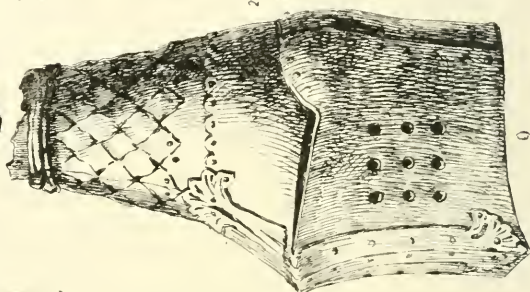
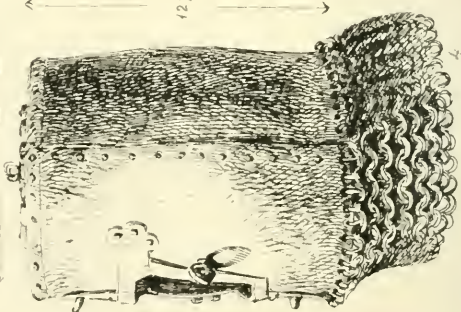
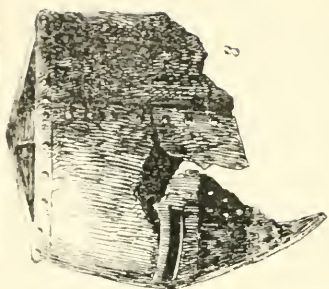
political changes of 1830. Time however began to lay his heavy hand upon Mons. de Gerville, his sight failed, and he was obliged to be dependent upon the assistance of three or four young men, as readers of works to him in Latin, English, and French. In the spring of 1853, his general powers lost their energy, he became gradually weaker and weaker, and expired, without suffering, on the 26th of July last, at the advanced age of eighty-four, highly respected and beloved for the purity of his mind, the benevolence of his disposition, and the extent of his learning and knowledge.

It remains now to notice our deceased correspondent, Mr. EDWARD DUNTHORNE, of Dennington, Suffolk, who relieved the fatigue arising from his occupation in business by attention to antiquities, inquiring minutely after everything ancient in his own parish, visiting the churches of his neighbourhood, taking rubbings from brasses, and collecting information relating to the pedigrees of the principal families of the county. Lately his health became impaired, yet he endeavoured to follow his usual pursuits, and made to us several useful communications. These are to be found in the various volumes of our *Journal*; and consist of a sketch of a carved grotesque figure in Dennington church, on the end of an oak bench; the monumental effigies of William lord Bardolf, and of Joan his lady, in the same church; a brass celt and other antiquities found at Dennington; observations on some of the Suffolk churches and their peculiarities; a silver ring found in a field at Brandish, being of the end of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century, and having an inscription; a drawing of the brass of William de Brews and his wife (1489) in Tressingfield church, chiefly remarkable for the head dress of the lady; a circular brass seal, found at Stradbroke, with a singular inscription; a gold brooch found at Brandish; and, lastly, in May 1853, an account of a brass plate to one of the chaplains of a chantry founded at Dennington, and the discovery of a rebus ring for some one of the name of Doveton, represented by a figure of that bird surmounting a tun. From our associate, Mr. Clarke of Easton, I learn that Mr. Dunthorne was deservedly held in high estimation by his neighbours, and that his loss was much deplored. He died on the 9th of September, at the age of sixty-one. He left six small folio volumes of manuscripts connected with the county of Suffolk, which have passed into the hands of the rev. E. C. Alston, of Framlingham. A manuscript history of Charsfield, with a map, and about fifty pedigrees with the armorial bearings of some of the principal Suffolk families, has been purchased by Mr. Clarke. He left also a quantity of coins in silver and copper, mostly of late dates; a few medals; five or six hundred Roman coins; a collection of early tokens and various seals, the product of his inquisitive search in his parish and the neighbourhood.

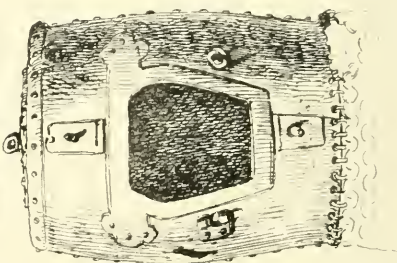




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THE JOURNAL

OF THE

British Archaeological Association.

JULY 1854.

ON ENGLISH HELMETS OF THE TWELFTH, THIRTEENTH, FOURTEENTH, AND FIFTEENTH CENTURIES.

BY J. R. PLANCHÉ, ESQ., HON. SEC.

To the extraordinary series of helmets which have been already engraved and published in the *Journal* of the Association, I have now the pleasure of adding five equally interesting and instructive. Four of these have been exhibited, the fifth is to be seen in Ashford church, Kent. A drawing of it, to scale of the full size, was laid before the members, at the congress at Rochester, by Mr. Thurston of Ashford, one of our associates; and a smaller sketch, by myself, at a later meeting in London.

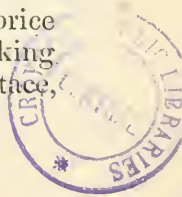
In pursuance of a practice I think most desirable, as leaving a more correct impression upon the memory, I shall offer the few observations I have to make upon these interesting relics in the chronological order of their forms, and not according to the period of their exhibition to the society.

The most extraordinary, both for its reputed age and unique features (Fig. 1, plate 16), was brought, as I have been given to understand, from a church in or near F'ever-sham in Kent. And here let me, at the outset, warn my readers that I do not undertake to vouch for the truth of any statement concerning the place in, or the circumstances under, which such antiquities have been discovered or obtained. There are obvious reasons for mystification on such points, and we are therefore naturally precluded from

drawing conclusions which the facts, if known, might not authorize ; but uncertainty on that particular ground does not in the slightest degree affect our opinion as to the genuine character of the relics themselves. Whether the singular head-piece, therefore, to which I now call your attention came out of Kent or Cumberland, from Feversham or Carlisle ; whether it was actually found, as I have been told, in a crypt, upon an empty stone coffin, with which it had been for centuries associated, or hung upon a hook in aisle or chancel, according to the general custom ; or whether it came out of a church at all,—has nothing whatever to do with the great point in question. To what period shall we assign it ? Two opinions have been given by competent judges. Some have thought it safer to attribute it to the fifteenth century, judging from the more classical imitation of the Greek form, which we see obtained about the reign of Henry V ; whilst others contend for a much more early date, and consider it of the time of Stephen, regarding it as a specimen of the first attempt to convert the nasal head-piece of the Anglo-Normans into the heaume, which we first meet with at the close of the twelfth century.

I shall not attempt to “decide where doctors disagree”, but merely observe, that whilst a praiseworthy caution induces some antiquaries to hesitate in assigning this singular head-piece to the earliest period suggested, there is certainly no positive ground for disputing it ; and that the foliated ornament on the apex of the helmet (vide figs. 2 and 3) has been admitted to possess so strong a character of twelfth century workmanship, that internal evidence is in favour of the greater antiquity. Mr. Pratt, to whom we are indebted for its exhibition, is anxious to believe (who can doubt that he is ?) that this helmet has actually overshadowed the brows of the chivalric king Stephen himself ! That monarch was buried in the abbey of Feversham, and on the dissolution of the abbey (*temp.* Henry VIII), his coffin was broken open, and his body, “for the gain of the lead” wherein it was wrapped, “was cast into the river” (V. Stow, *Speed's Chron.*, book xviii, ch. 5) : “meaning, I suppose,” says Lewis in his *History and Antiquities of Feversham*, “by the river, the brackish creek into which a spring, or nail-bourne from Ospringe, falls, after it has run about two

miles, at Feversham, where, running by the precincts of the abbey, it falls into the sea." Was Stephen's helmet, hung above his resting-place in the abbey, ejected at the same time with his corpse, and neglected as valueless, being merely old iron, or subsequently removed to another church with the empty stone coffin? There is no violent improbability in the fancy, and no reason why Mr. Pratt should not indulge in it: nay, we will encourage him by recalling an historical fact, with the commentary on it, curiously in point, by a celebrated antiquary. Henry of Huntingdon tells us, in his old chronicle,—and he was the contemporary of Stephen,—that at the battle of Lincoln the king being struck to the ground by a stone projected from one of the machines then in use, a knight sprang upon him, and seizing him *by his helmet*, exclaimed, "hither! hither! I have got the king!" Our late associate, sir Samuel Meyrick (*Critical Inquiry*, vol. i, p. 37), remarks upon this,—“The figure of the helmet being that of a cone, though in this reign its apex projected a little forward, a good hold could not easily be made; it must therefore have been by the nasal, as well as the apex, by which the knight held him. Subsequently we find the helmets without nasals; this act, therefore, or similar ones, gave occasion to their disuse.” Now in the specimen under consideration the nasal forms a portion of a helmet enclosing the whole head, as did the still more cumbrous helmets of the time of John and Henry III, but presenting the sharp, banded cone seen in the Anglo-Norman helms, in lieu of the flat or slightly raised top of the latter, the apex being surmounted by a leaf-shaped ornament of a very early character, underneath which are holes pierced in the angles, as if for the fastenings of a wreath, crest, or circlet: Mr. Pratt, of course, says a crown. There can be no doubt that the nasal of such a helmet as this would afford a much firmer hold than that of a small steel cap, which would be likely to be left altogether in the grasp of the captor; and, in the absence of all pictorial or sculptural authority by which we could bring the test of comparison to bear on it, I suspect we must give Mr. Pratt the benefit of the doubt, and leave the French government, who have eagerly given a liberal price for this unique relic, to enjoy the belief, that if not king Stephen's own helmet, or that of his son prince Eustace,



buried in the same abbey, it is that of some noble warrior of his time.

Figs. 4 and 5 represent the second specimen in point of assigned date, and not inferior in singularity or interest. The original, in the possession of Lord Londesborough, I had the honour, by his lordship's kind permission, of exhibiting to the Association at our evening meeting.

This fine example of a helmet of the close of the twelfth century, has still attached to it a portion of the chain neck-piece or gorget. The opening for the face has evidently been guarded by a plate or grating, moving upon a hinge, and having holes at the top and bottom, through which the studs or small staples passed, and prevented its being shifted by the stroke of a lance or other weapon. The crown is perfectly flat, as in other examples of the reign of Richard I and John, and ornamented by a cruciform plate (fig. 6), in the centre of which is a ring, probably for the attachment of the cointise or scarf, or some other ornament; but in several seals of this period the helmets are seen with rings only. The helmet is of the barrel form, slightly bulging at the sides. It is twelve inches and a half high, and nine and a half in diameter at the crown. Mr. Pratt rescued it from a church in which it had been exhibited for many years as "a popish lantern".

Figs. 7 and 8 present us with two views of the fragment of a helmet of the thirteenth century (*temp.* Henry III). The cross in front is formed by the ocularium, as in previously exhibited specimens; but in lieu of the moveable grating seen in the helmet of the same date (*Journal*, vol. viii, plate 22, figs. 6 and 7), and now in the Tower, it has simply a number of perforations for the admission of air. Its form is common upon the seals and effigies of the thirteenth century, but it is the only existing specimen I have seen, and it has gone to Paris with the helmet from Feversham.

Fig. 9 represents a fine specimen of a tilting helmet, of the close of the fourteenth or beginning of the fifteenth century, *temp.* Richard II or Henry IV. It possesses the interesting feature of a portion of the crest (an eagle or griffin's head) in wrought-iron attached to it. The neck gorged with a plain collar alone remains. The crown of

the helmet, which is concealed by it, is of the pointed arch form to fit the basinet of the above period; this has also gone to Paris.

Fig. 10, sir John Fogge's helmet, is principally interesting on account of its authentic appropriation to that personage, who died A.D. 1469, and was buried at Ashford, where his tomb with superb brasses is still in tolerable preservation, although it has, I believe, been moved from its original position. The chief peculiarity in the helmet is an oval opening on the left side for the purpose of hearing, I presume, as it corresponds with the position of the ear, and the helmet is otherwise provided with the usual apertures for ventilation.

I can only again congratulate the Association on having it in their power, through the intelligence and kindness of Mr. Pratt, and by the medium of their *Journal*, to increase so greatly the store of valuable information on this subject. Ten years ago, no helmet was known to exist in England of an earlier date than the reign of Edward III. The plate accompanying this paper gives to the public a *second series*¹ of helmets, of the principal forms from the fifteenth up to the twelfth century, all drawn from the originals discovered in this country! Alas, that so many should have been suffered to leave it; that we must seek in the *Musée d'Artillerie*, at Paris, for such unique specimens of the armour of our ancestors! I have just returned from an inspection of that interesting and finely-kept collection, and can safely declare that the majority of the rarer examples of helmets contained in it has been obtained from England at four and five times the sums offered by the parties to whom is entrusted the conservation and management of our national armoury.

¹ The previous series will be found in vol. vi, pp. 443-445, plate 36, and vol. viii, pp. 131-137, plates 22 and 23; also p. 354, plate 38. See also vol. vii, p. 161, for description and representation of a tilting helmet of the reign of Edward III.

ON THE ARCHITECTURE OF PRE-NORMAN ENGLAND.¹

BY HENRY DUESBURY, ESQ.

I BELIEVE that the practice of calling all mediæval architecture in this country "Norman" where the use of the pointed arch does not prevail, results in a great measure from a disinclination to the labour of analysing the facts of various kinds which can be brought to bear upon the question, and from placing too much faith in the traditions and assertions of recent conquerors, whose business it was to decry all that went before them and exalt themselves, rather than narrate historical and impartial truth. I propose, therefore, to call to your recollection certain facts and conditions of society which prevailed in this country antecedent to the advent of the Normans under duke William (his coming not being by any means the first appearance of the *race* he led into this country), and which are calculated, I think, to make us at least pause before we endorse the popular view or admit the assertions of Norman chroniclers.

It is first to be remembered that when Julius Cæsar came here, more than 1,900 years ago, in continuation of his conquest of Gaul (55 B.C.), he found an unusually high standard of native race, divided into thirty tribes under chiefs or kings.² They had several towns or associated

¹ This paper was intended to have preceded the remarks on Rochester castle, made by Mr. Duesbury upon the examination of that structure at the Congress held in July 1853 (see *Journal*, vol. ix, p. 339 et seq.); but as time would not then permit of its being read, it has been revised by the author, and is now given in its perfect and distinct form, as one worthy the consideration of antiquarian architects.

² The chiefs were, in their turn, subject to the priests or Druids, who engrossed all the knowledge of the country, such as theology, medicine, astronomy, natural history, etc. A singular circumstance is, that the Druids *recorded* nothing, but transmitted all their knowledge *orally*, and with great secrecy and ceremony, as the Freemasons now do all over the world. Their temples, or places of incantation, being circular areas enclosed with large stones placed upright, with horizontal stones at the top, the enclosed space being open to the sky. They had also sacred groves, and offered up human sacrifices,—a very early type of paganism,—but did not worship images: idolatry, or the worship of images, being the latest type, and although the *latest*, is yet as early as the days of Moses, and even before his time. (See Clarkson's *Churches of Adam and Noah*.) Who, therefore, can fix a date to Stonehenge?

dwelling, built of wood and wattled work, the names of which are in part still retained, as are also those of several rivers. They were warlike and brave; they had chariots and horses, and drove furiously, with scythe-blades projecting from the wheels to gash and mangle those they drove amongst. I might here pause to ask how and when the horses were obtained, since they are said to be indigenous only in the East; did the Phœnicians, who are supposed to have come here in very remote times for tin, bring them? But this inquiry, as also the very interesting one as to the traces of two distinct early races of men, discovered by our associate Mr. Bateman, of Youlgrave, would lead us too far a-field on this occasion.

The Britons were numerous, and fought hard for liberty, since it took several large Roman armies one hundred and thirty-six years to obtain the final mastery. The last was under Agricola, after two years' campaign, in the reign of Domitian (A.D. 81). The conquest, after all, was more in the nature of assimilation with those who remained than of total subjugation of the people. Some fled to Devon, Cornwall, and the opposite coast, but the greater part retired into Wales, where their descendants to this day live and speak their language; and even here, in England, the "Joneses" (pre-eminently Welsh), as proved by the last census, are the most numerous family we have.¹

It is foreign to my present purpose to give the details of the one hundred and thirty-six years' war, in which large armies were engaged on both sides, all over the country, or the tempting episodes of Caradoc and Boadicea, or any disquisition as to the alleged introduction of Christianity by the family of Caradoc on their return from captivity in Rome eighteen hundred years ago (A.D. 51). We may, however, for a moment lift the veil of time, and contemplate generation after generation of our forefathers struggling for that liberty, still so dear to us as a people, and the ruthless determination of the invader, who, using all the means that his comparatively superior civilisation and

¹ This is a strong proof of the high standard of the original race, more especially as they inhabited an island of comparatively small area. The Red man of America, with his vast continent, is fast disappearing; so are the natives of the Cape of Good Hope, of Australia, of the South Sea Islands; on every spot where the European plants his foot, the original races melt away, except perhaps in New Zealand, which forms a slight exception.

knowledge afforded, continued the struggle, until he at length conquered, or at least exhausted his certainly not less brave opponent, with long intervals from the wearisomeness of strife, which would prompt alike the invader and invaded to be at rest, and cluster round one common hearth as one human family. It is startling to think that these scenes of strife and bloodshed should take place in the land in which we live at the very time when our Saviour appeared on earth to teach the sublime doctrines of Christianity, with peace on earth and goodwill towards all mankind.

Bearing in mind the above very slight sketch of the general position of affairs in Britain at this period, let us try to ascertain what was likely to have been the state of architecture and the building arts here at this time.

I think it may be said that before the Romans came into the island, it scarcely possessed any architectural building, properly speaking. The Druidical circles, although evincing the existence of considerable mechanical skill, by which large stones, as at Salisbury Plain, were transported, sometimes great distances from the quarries, and then placed as we find them, are not *buildings*; the stones are rough and unwrought, and not *built* or jointed together, and the dwellings of the common people, as stated above, were wattled huts, or caves rudely made in the hills, the houses intended for defence being surrounded by walls of loose stone, and some of them, perhaps, built of brick. The houses of the chiefs or princes also would most likely be more permanent, and in some measure architectural buildings. Brick is a British word, and they would not have a name for that which did not exist; they do not appear to have had any monumental tombs; but we may fairly conjecture, from the general character of the people above sketched, that they would soon take example from the invaders, at least in the art of war, and in the construction of camps and fortifications, as shewn at the Beacon, on the Malvern hills; the Caer Caradoc, near Church Stretton, Shropshire; Moel Arthur, in Flintshire; Chün castle, Cornwall; and Maiden castle, Dorsetshire; traces of which are even now extant. Some regular roads they must have had, although the country is described generally as covered with forests. Most likely they had a road on

the site of the Roman Watling-street, between Chester and Sandwich, since the site of Rochester, where the road crosses the river, was called by the Britains *Durobrivæ*, from *dwr* or *dour*, water, and *briva*, a crossing or passage: hence *Duro-brivis*, the Roman name. And it may be taken as certain, that the Romans, during this one hundred and thirty or one hundred and forty years, were not always fighting; and from the remark of Seneca, quoted by Gibbon, "Where the Roman conquers, he inhabits," the probabilities are, they settled down and formed roads, built camps and fortifications, and most probably built forums and temples; although we have, as far as I am aware, no authentic records of Roman works before the great wall of Antoninus. However, Britain was at this time an imperial province with all its privileges, and the above conjecture is confirmed by a passage in Tacitus' life of Agricola, where he says, that "Agricola incited the Britons to erect halls, temples, basilicas, and forums, and to ornament those edifices with porticoes and galleries"; and it is most likely that he practised what he preached. Upon the whole, therefore, I think we may with tolerable certainty conclude that at this time, viz. A.D. 81, nearly eighteen hundred years ago, this island was well intersected by roads, and possessed camps, fortified places (particularly on this spot, Rochester), and towns with the usual Roman public buildings; more especially, as this was the only province attached to the Roman empire during the first century of the Christian era, they would be likely to pay considerable attention to its progress.

I now come to the second Roman period, comprised in the period between A.D. 81 and A.D. 409, in the reign of Honorius, according to Bede; but other authorities say in the next reign, Valentinian, A.D. 426, when the Britons, after often revolting, and always seeking the privilege of freedom, separated themselves from the dominion of the emperors. During this period we have more light, and can get on a little faster and with more confidence. We have still plenty of fighting, more especially with the northern tribes, who were very troublesome, and were at length walled out by Severus, in A.D. 208, a previous wall having been erected of earth in the same neighbourhood by Hadrian and Antoninus. Severus came here in person,

drove the Caledonians back to their bleak hills, lost 50,000 men! (according to Gibbon) by the climate, and died at York, in A.D. 211. Britain seems early to have taken its place as an integral portion of the empire, and at the end of the second century some of the most able men were its governors, amongst them Pertinax and Claudius Albinus. The Britons were also frequently engaged in foreign service, and at the decisive battle of Lyons, between Severus and Albinus, where 150,000 Romans were engaged, Gibbon says, "The valour of the British army maintained indeed a sharp and doubtful contest with the hardy discipline of the Illyrian legions"; the Britons previously having taken a prominent part in opposing the sale of the empire, in A.D. 193, to Julius, a rich citizen, who was at dinner when he heard of the auction; he left his meal, went to the sale, bid high, and secured the prize. Further there is a glowing description of Britain by the orator Eumenius—its harbours, its soil, its climate, its rich pastures covered with flocks, the large revenue it produced, etc.—in his celebration of the re-junction of Britain to the empire, after its ten years' separation by the revolt of Carausius, in A.D. 287. In describing this revolt, Gibbon has (chap. xiii) the following suggestive passage:—"Under his command, Britain, destined in a future age to obtain the empire of the sea, already assumed its natural and respectable station of a maritime power." Another revolt, that of Maximus, in the reign of Gratian, A.D. 375, may be mentioned, as it throws some light on the state of the population. He invaded, or rather made an emigrating expedition, into Gaul, with a fleet and army composed of 30,000 soldiers and 100,000 plebeians, who settled in Bretagne. Their destined brides, says Gibbon (in a note, chap. xxvii), viz. "St. Ursula and 11,000 noble, and 60,000 plebeian virgins, mistook their way, and landing at Cologne, were all most cruelly murdered by the Huns; although Trithemius talks of the *children* of the 60,000 plebeians.¹ But it would be

¹ I have retained the legend as to the noble and plebeian virgins, although I am aware it has been considered, in recent times, that there has been a ludicrous mistake in the translation (see Mr. Lynch's remarks on this subject in *Journal*, vol. viii, pp. 76-79); but it is still not improbable, as this appears to have been a colonizing expedition, that the men would go first, and leave the women to follow. I may state here, that I have not, as a rule, sought for new facts from which to draw my conclusions; on the contrary, I have been anxious to use

a wearisome, and perhaps, for my purpose, not a very useful task, to attempt to follow all the political changes that swayed and agitated the empire after the death of Severus, and I shall therefore confine my attention to two points that bear more directly on the subject of this inquiry; viz., first, some hints as to the social state of the island, and second, the very important circumstance of the introduction of Christianity.

First, as to the social state. Passing over the one hundred and thirty-six years of desperate struggle already alluded to, we have seen that in the first century, Agricola incited the Britons to adorn their towns with forums and other public buildings; that they had several towns to adorn is abundantly recorded; and London, according to Tacitus, was a considerable commercial place in the time of Nero, about the middle of the century. St. Alban's was a still more important place, under the name of Verulam (a large area, covered with Roman walls, is still to be seen); it had many privileges, extending to all the inhabitants, British as well as Roman. Gibbon further says, that in the time of Hadrian and the Antonines, "the most northern tribes of Britain had acquired a taste for rhetoric." From the earliest times many roads were made or adopted; and—still compressing events—it may be sufficient to notice, that when the peculations of the commanders and the feeble and corrupt administration of the governors at the time of Constans (six years after Constantine's death) had produced their natural results, and filled the highways with robbers, and the whole country with revolt and distraction, the northern tribes seized the opportunity to make a fearful inroad; and after repeated messages to Rome, Theodosius (*temp.* Valentinian, A.D. 367-70) was sent to restore, or rather to regain, the province. He is described by Gibbon to have marched from Sandwich to London, with "numerous veteran bands of Heruli and Batavians, the Jovians and the Victors; defeating on his way several parties of the barbarians, releasing multitudes of captives, and restoring spoils taken by the barbarians to the rightful owners." The citizens of London opened their

only such as are on the surface, and generally admitted, that my deductions might not be questioned through the insufficiency of the facts on which they are founded.

gates to him, and “the prudent spirit and consummate art of the Roman general was displayed in the operations of two campaigns, which successively rescued the province from the hands of a cruel and rapacious enemy. The splendour of the cities and the security of the fortifications were diligently restored by the paternal care of Theodosius.” He sailed round the island, subduing all he met, and established a new province, which he called Valentia.

Splendour as applied to the cities seems almost an exaggerated term, but it may be justified when we recollect the remains of several noble villas that have been found, one containing seventy-four apartments, and measuring 630 by 335 feet; and when we notice that Gibbon further says: “Every production of art and nature, every object of convenience and luxury, which they were capable of creating by labour or procuring by trade, was accumulated in the rich and fruitful province of Britain.” (Chap. xxv.) Making every allowance for pomposity of style, all this shows, at all events, that Britain was much prized, and evidently in a highly civilised state at this time (A.D. 370) and thickly populated.

The evidence as to the exact time when Christianity was brought into Britain is wanting; it must, however, have existed here before the time of Diocletian, since St. Alban and St. Amphibalus, and two others, Julius and Aaron, are said by Bede to have suffered martyrdom under the persecution of that emperor; however, Christianity was thoroughly established under Constantine, when it became the religion of the empire (306-37); and in A.D. 314 three British bishops attended the synod of Arles, viz. Ivor, or Eborius, of York, Restitutus of London, and Adelfius *de civitate colonia Londinensium* (supposed to be Caerleon). British bishops also attended the councils of Nice, A.D. 325; Sardica, A.D. 346; and of Arminium.

Gibbon says—“The British church might be composed of *thirty* or *forty* bishops, with an adequate proportion of inferior clergy; and their want of riches, for they *seem* to have been poor, would compel them to deserve the public esteem by a decent and exemplary behaviour.” He further says—“The episcopal synods were the only councils that could pretend to the weight and authority of a *national* assembly”. (Chap. xxxi.) It would seem by this that the

power of priestcraft, notwithstanding the general good behaviour of the priests, was quickly established.

To the above I will merely add the summary of the laws and government under the Romans, and then proceed to the next period. After narrating the final and successful revolt of the Britons—*i.e.* Anglo-Romans—against the imperial yoke, and also the *subsequent* one of the Armoricans (inhabiting the maritime countries of Gaul between the Seine and Loire), he proceeds to say,—“This revolution dissolved the artificial fabric of civil and military government; and the independent country, during a period of forty years, till the descent of the Saxons, was ruled by the authority of the clergy, the nobles, and the municipal towns. Zosimus, who alone has preserved the memory of this singular transaction (and who lived A.D. 410), very accurately observes, that the letters of Honorius were addressed to the *cities* of Britain. Under the protection of the Romans *ninety-two* considerable towns had arisen in the several parts of the great province, and, amongst these, thirty-three cities were distinguished above the rest by their superior privileges and importance.

“Each of these cities, as in all other provinces of the empire, formed a legal corporation, for the purpose of regulating their domestic policy; and the powers of municipal government were distributed amongst annual magistrates, a select senate, and the assembly of the people, according to the original model of the Roman constitution” (cap. xxxi). I may add, that two of the cities were *municipia*; nine, colonies, amongst which were London, Colchester, Lincoln, Chester, Gloucester, Bath, etc.; ten, *Latii jure donata*, or having the right of Latium (a petty state within the metropolis of the empire), less than that of the “colonies”, as it conferred on the magistrates *only*, at the expiration of their year of office, the quality of Roman citizens; twelve, *stipendiarie*, of eminent note, of which Rochester or Roibis was one.

We ought to notice that, previously to this time, Gaul had been overrun by barbarians, whilst Britain, protected probably by its insular position, was *not* so invaded, and consequently did not lose civilization; indeed, the Britons had the power to assist in its defence by sending 12,000 independent British soldiers into Gaul to the assistance of

the emperor Anthemius (about A.D. 467), even after the Saxons had first appeared here.

Before discussing the question as to the works left by the Romans of this period, I will finish this task of recapitulation by glancing at the events which took place under the Saxons, and then come to the consideration, the main object of this paper, as to whether the majority of antiquaries have fully apportioned the merits due to these people with respect to the works now extant.

After the departure of the Romans, the Britons were soon distressed by inroads from the north (probably foreigners, the Scotch population being scanty), when Vortigern, the chief British prince,—celebrated by Blackmore for his “painted vest”,—made a treaty with Hengist and Horsa, two northern chiefs or Saxons, the Saxons, as well as the Northmen or Danes, being rude northern tribes, whose point of departure is supposed to have been Schleswig-Holstein. These new comers soon cleared the country of the savage invaders, had the Isle of Thanet assigned them for their pains, and apparently became great friends with Vortigern, who married Hengist’s daughter, Rowena. The whole transaction is a commentary on “the snake and the porcupine” fable, as the Saxons poured over in great numbers from time to time, till at length the Britons were subdued, and such as would not assimilate with the invaders went into Wales, Cornwall, and Devon, or went across to the old British colony of Armorica or Bretagne.

This brings us to A.D. 582. During these stormy one hundred and thirty-four years, although the Saxons are described as having destroyed monasteries, etc., we have, nevertheless, records that Aurelius Ambrosius repaired churches in Britain in 448, and that a council was held at York, in 522, for the furtherance of ecclesiastical affairs. The torch of science, though not destroyed or forcibly extinguished, was all but suffered to go out; but it was soon relighted by Gregory the Great, who sent St. Augustine, in A.D. 597 (that is, fifteen years after), to rekindle it, by reviving Christianity; and we may feel tolerably sure it never was thoroughly quenched, judging from the rapidity with which Christianity again spread all over the country. Many buildings were erected (of which more anon), and monachism prevailed, and, altogether, things went on pretty

smoothly till the end of the eighth century, when, if possible, still fiercer bands of pirates and invaders appeared upon the coasts. These were the Danes, Northmen, or Sea Kings. They not only infested several parts of England, more particularly Kent, and still more particularly the city of Rochester, this being the guard of the important, indeed only, pass, of the river, but the opposite coast of Gaul also. The usual course of rapine and slaughter, with alternate successes on each side, prevailed; and those engaged in the contest had no time for peace.

At length the greatest king England ever had, Alfred the Great, appeared, in A.D. 872. He put down the Danes and established order, restored the churches and monasteries, and built others; promulgated laws, which are the laws of England to this day; and, according to Lord Campbell, regularly established the office of lord high chancellor of England. He formed schools and places of learning—amongst them Oxford—Cambridge being said to be founded by Sigebert, king of East Anglia, in 643; built ships of war, and encouraged trade and navigation; and intercourse with the continent, which had been going on more or less frequently since the time of Ethelbert, was renewed. Alfred himself was educated at Rome. He did not, however, entirely drive out the Danes, but ceded part of Northumbria and East Anglia to them; and it is worthy of remark, that the ruler of the opposite country (Gaul), shortly after, in the year 918, ceded *Normandy* to such of the Danes, or Northmen, as had invaded his shores.

In the reign of Edward the Martyr, A.D. 975, began the bad practice of buying off the Danes with money. He did worse; he tried the “snake and porcupine” experiment over again, and invited the *Normans* over to keep them down—these Normans being the Danes to whom Normandy had been ceded a few years since. Then came the savage and fatal attempt, in the next reign, to murder every Dane in England; then the fearful revenge of Swayne, king of Denmark, which ended in seating Canute on the throne; then followed all sorts of distractions, and claimants for the crown, which were put an end to by William of Normandy, who defeated and slew Harold II at Hastings, and ascended the throne, being crowned and accepted as king by both English and Normans.

Let us, before going further, look a little closer at this Norman business. I think it can scarcely be called a conquest, in the usual acceptation of the term, that is, a conquest by a distinct *foreign* nation. We have seen that the early Britons established themselves in Armorica, the subsequent site of Normandy, and that the Britons, still under the Romans, established a colony in Bretagne, the adjoining province, now Brittany; that the people to whom Normandy was allotted in 918, were the same as those to whom Northumbria and East Anglia were allotted in 872, and that they were invited as mercenaries in 975. Further, it appears that Ethelred the Unready, A.D. 978-1016, married Emma, the sister of Richard, duke of Normandy, and aunt of the Conqueror; that he fled to Normandy, after the Danish revenge, and left his wife and two sons, Edward and Alfred, there; that after his death, Canute, the Dane, married his widow, who still left her children in Normandy; that after Canute came the son, Edward (called by the priests, the "Confessor," and whose dominion he was entirely under), who had been reared and educated in Normandy, and who brought over Norman priests and favourites to succeed the Saxons. He invited his cousin William over to see him, and left him his throne by will. He married the daughter of earl Godwin, and shamefully neglected and illused her; hence bitter animosities between the parties: and Harold's (the earl's son) seizure of the throne, after shipwreck on the Norman coast, where he saw William, who offered him his daughter in marriage, and swore him, not being able to help himself, not to attempt the throne of England.¹

William seems to have relied, in fact, on his equally near descent, the will of the late king, and this oath, to justify his claim. The affair seems to me, I must confess, to have partaken more of a personal quarrel for succession than a national conquest. Indeed, the Normans have scarcely given a name to a single town, river, place, or district in England; and, although they introduced their barbarous French in law language, the tongue of England (still so called) to this day is essentially Saxon, with a small proportion of British, Celtic, and Latin, left by the Romans.

¹ I was shown, when at St. Valery in 1848, a small circular tower, on the coast, in which, the tradition is, Harold was confined.

I here conclude my general summary of the events of this eleven hundred and twenty-one years, intended to show what *must* have been done in the several stages of society in this island. There must have been a large population, judging from the number of fighting men always maintained; there must have been (for the period) a high class of civilization under the Romans, which the insular position, in spite of the inroads of a few thousands of adventurers from time to time, would and did retain (witness the true religion preserved at Kirkwall and in Ireland when it was temporarily suppressed in the south of Ireland); and, above all, Christianity and fixed laws had been firmly established throughout the land for a long period. I add in confirmation the following specially recorded facts, as to the building works executed by the Anglo-Romans and the Saxons.

I will first record some of the Roman works known to have been built or now extant. They are known to have built a temple of Apollo on the site of Westminster abbey, a temple of Diana on the site of St. Paul's, London, a temple of Minerva at Bath, etc.; there are remains of their villas at Bignor, in Sussex; in the neighbourhood of Hythe, where a very large one has recently been discovered; and in many other places, where mosaic pavements of elaborate design have been found; together with *window-glass*, coins, personal ornaments, and household utensils. There are remains of a Roman wall, with towers and niches, at Leicester, where also some very perfect Roman glazed drain pipes have been discovered within these two or three months, the pipes being enclosed in a half-brick rim.¹ There are at Lincoln a Roman gate, a postern tower, and a tower in the castle. There is the octagonal tower, or lighthouse, in Dover castle; and there are several works at Richborough, Bath, London, Colchester, Silchester, Chester, Woodchester, St. Alban's, etc.

The above are, I believe, admitted on all hands to be Roman, and I suspect others might be added, which, if not absolutely Roman, were built in the "Roman manner", and I am inclined to class St. Alban's abbey as one of these, that is, the nave, transepts, and tower. We have

¹ See also Mr. Thompson's Researches, in the *Journal*, vol. vi, pp. 393-402.

already seen that St. Alban's, or Verulam, was an early Roman city: we have, besides the general evidence of the introduction of Christianity in the end of the third century, special evidence with respect to this church that it was founded about the year 300, to commemorate the martyrdom of St. Alban. Matthew, of Westminster, says that "within ten years after the suffering of St. Alban, the protomartyr of England, a basilic in honour of him was constructed"; and Bede, an earlier authority, says that "at Verulam, peace being restored to the Christians, a church of *wonderful workmanship*, worthy of his martyrdom, was erected." That which Bede describes of "wonderful workmanship" could not have been a very trifling erection: he had described too many churches, and important ones too, to have used such an epithet without cause. It is probable that this was one of the churches attended to and repaired in 448 and 552. Further, there is a legend that Offa, king of Mercia, about 791, thinking of erecting a church, was admonished by an angel in a dream to find the body of St. Alban (who had been buried between four hundred and five hundred years) and build a church in his honour: he accordingly proceeded to Verulam, removed the body, put a gold circlet round the skull, and set about the church, which he handsomely endowed. I suspect the real truth of this matter is, that he found a large and substantial church, repaired it, whitewashed it, furnished it, endowed it, and then declared he built it,—a very common practice in the middle ages, as the inscription at Morley church, Derbyshire, and other places, testify. Again, Matthew Paris, a Norman monk of St. Alban's, says the abbey was built from the foundation by abbot Paul, who was installed in 1078. As I said in the beginning of this paper, I very much distrust Norman chroniclers, and I think the facts are against Matthew Paris on this occasion. The description in Neale's *Churches*, speaking of the nave, is, "These arches of the nave are plain and semicircular, springing from massive piers constructed of *brick*, or as it is called 'Roman tile', plastered over: this tile is of exquisite hardness, surpassing stone in durability, but bearing no ornament whatever." The tower is described to be built in a similar manner, and one of the arches of the south transept has been admitted to be Roman. The

building is very substantial, and if I remember rightly, the top of the walls of the nave are seven feet thick, but as it is nearly twenty years since I superintended the restoration of the abbey and the repairs of the roof-beams which were decayed at the bearings, I cannot be certain. Now, is there any other building in England, thoroughly authenticated to have been begun in the Norman period, in which the same mode of construction can be found? I think not: the style too is Roman, and in accordance with other Roman works found.¹ Supposing I am right in my conjecture that this large building, with its tower, triforium, and clerestory, existed, at all events, before the Conquest, there will be no difficulty in believing that many other pre-Norman buildings have existed, and that they may still remain.

Perhaps Rochester castle may be taken as a striking case in point. It is distinctly recorded by a Norman chronicler that bishop Gundulph rebuilt the castle from the foundations; but the context of the same record is of itself almost sufficient to contradict this assertion, for the context says that there was a long dispute between the king (William Rufus) and Gundulph the bishop (assisted by the archbishop of Canterbury) about *repairing* the castle, dilapidated by the siege of Rufus himself, who, after six weeks fighting, drove out Odo the rebel bishop, who held the castle against him. It is not very surprising that, as a churchman and a bishop of the see, with whom Gundulph had probably a sympathy, had caused the mischief, the king should call upon the see to make the damage good, especially as the bishop was keeper of the castle; and, after much wrangling, it appears the bishop consented to spend £60 upon it. Now, would this £60 rebuild the castle "from the foundations"? was there any occasion for it? was the castle ever razed to the ground? was it ever burnt? Certainly not: the king would not

¹ It may, as an extreme conjecture, be suggested that the Normans used the tiles from the ruins of ancient Verulam; and so might the Romans. The original city was sacked by Boadicea, in the reign of Galba, about A.D. 70. But I think it very unlikely in either case. The tiles would not *pay* for pulling down and cleaning (supposing enough sound ones could be found after at least seven hundred years of ruin, they being in courses merely, about four feet apart, in stone walls). The practice, if it ever existed, was not continued here; and the Normans do not appear to have adopted it anywhere else.

be so absurd as wantonly to destroy his own property ; he would do no more than necessary to take the place ; but, without going into the question whether £60 would rebuild a castle spread over four acres of ground within the walls, would it build the keep alone which now stands ? This building contains upwards of 500,000 cubic feet, and it may be asserted with confidence, that no builder of the present day would erect such a building for less than nine or ten thousand pounds, and all the difference in the value of money at that time and this would never bring this sum down to £60 or even £600. The extreme probability is, that the main building was untouched, and that Gundulph spent the money in repairing the outer walls or inferior offices. I think the above are legitimate deductions from the *written* record. Now what say the massive walls themselves,—which have towered into the sky for so many centuries ; which existed before the record, and still stand the best witnesses we have,—almost untouched by time and the elements, for they have not suffered from *decay*, but from comparatively recent greed of paltry gain ? Why, the walls say this at all events, viz., that the keep as it stands was not originally built as it now is. There are unmistakeable evidences that the entrance to the building was originally on the north side of the north-west turret, with probably the steps extending northward ; the finished soffit of the doorway is still to be seen *at the same level* as the present doorway in the entrance tower ; the aperture is built up ; the small office in this north-west turret was, without doubt, the porch into which this built-up archway opened ; the present entrance tower is therefore proved by this fact to be of later date than the main body of the building, into which the old entrance went direct. Again, an attentive examination of the walls internally of the two lower stories would lead to the inference that they are of earlier date than the rest of the work ; there is a marked difference in the colour and style of the work : the upper walls in some places set back, and the vertical lines do not all correspond ; and it is a noticeable fact, that all the arches are quite plain, except the entrance door from the (I think above proved) new entrance tower, which has a moulded and enriched archivolt, with columns at the jambs, exactly corres-

ponding to the work *above*. Further, the south-east turret (without a staircase) is circular on plan without freestone dressings, the remaining three being square with freestone dressings; but the top of this turret is finished square like the rest, corresponding with them in the colour of the stone and mode of construction, which the circular part below does not. I therefore infer that the circular turret is older than the others; and, in confirmation of the fact of a *difference*, at least, in the date of the work in this part of the building, there are the built up remains of an arch, of considerably larger span than any other in the building, in the *top* story of the east wall near this turret; the gap between the arch and turret having been built up, and a window opening, corresponding with the window openings of the northern chamber, having been inserted. The large arch may have been the east window of a chapel, the more recent chapel having been, as I conjecture (see *Journal*, vol. ix, p. 343), in the entrance tower. Other portions of the building have been altered, but I have said enough to show that this keep itself bears evidence it was not built at *one* time from *one* design. There are probably at least three dates of work, but what are the dates? This I cannot tell; but inasmuch as there is no record of any thing but repairs of outer walls, etc., having been done *after* Gundulph's time, and as I have, I think, conclusively shown that Gundulph's £60 did not build it,—that in fact neither Gundulph nor any *one* person built it,—the conclusion seems almost as inevitable that it was built before Gundulph's time, as it is that the remaining angle of a triangle must be 90° when the other two are each 45° .

I will not detail the long list of churches, monasteries, and other works recorded to have been erected by the Saxons; one thousand seven hundred churches alone are recorded in Domesday Book as being then in existence; neither shall I enter into the controversy between King, Stukeley, Carter, Garbett, and others, who maintained the Saxon, or pre-Norman cause, against their opponents; I will merely state, that there were many buildings in England at the time of Gregory the Great and St. Augustine adapted for Christian worship, since Gregory directed the Christian clergy not to destroy Pagan temples (probably

originally Christian churches), but only the idols in them, and then to purify such of them as were well built with holy water, and place altars and relics therein. And I will further quote one or two descriptions of Saxon churches of the seventh century. Wilfrid, archbishop of York, from 669 to 678, executed, amongst other works, churches at Ripon and Hexham. Heddus says: "In Ripon Wilfrid erected a church of *hewn stone*, supported with various columns and porticoes, and completed it from the foundation to the utmost height." And Richard, who was prior of Hexham towards the close of the twelfth century, thus describes the church of St. Andrew at Hexham: "St. Wilfrid laid the foundations of this church deep in the earth, with great care, forming crypts and subterraneous oratories, and winding passages. The walls, extending to a great length, and raised to a great height, were divided into three distinct stories, supported by polished columns, some square and others of various forms. The walls and also the capitals of the columns by which they were supported, and the arch of the sanctuary, were decorated with histories and images, and different figures carved in relief, on stone, and painted with colours, displaying a pleasing variety and wonderful beauty. The body of the church was likewise surrounded on all sides by pencees and porticos, which, with the most wonderful artifice, were divided above and below by walls and winding stairs. Within these winding passages, and over them, were stairs and galleries of stone, and various ways for ascending and descending, so ingeniously contrived, that a vast multitude of persons might be there, and pass round the church without being visible to any one in the nave below. Many oratories, also most retired and beautiful, were with the utmost care and diligence erected in the porticoes, both above and below; and in them were placed altars in honour of the Blessed Mother of God the Virgin Mary, St. Michael the Archangel, St. John the Baptist, and the holy apostles, martyrs, confessors, and virgins, with all becoming and proper furniture belonging to them. Some parts of this building, even to this day, remain standing like turrets and fortified places." This account of the church at Hexham agrees with that given by Heddus, who was contemporary with Bede, and who states that no such edifice was known on this side the Alps.





Fig. 1.

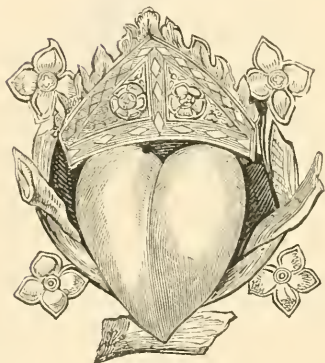


Fig. 2.



Fig. 3.

The above description also agrees with the illuminations on the Saxon manuscripts. I have made sketches from one of the tenth century in the British Museum (Harleian MS., No. 2788, cat. vol. ii.), in which are shown towers, porticoes, decorated columns, enriched arches, chandeliers, and very elaborate borders round the subjects, all of which illuminations are richly gilt and coloured.

So much for pre-Norman England. And I cannot understand why, in the face of the presumptive and positive evidence above adduced, all the credit should be given to the Normans as the great promoters of architecture in this country. The church above described was built more than one hundred years before they appeared in this part of Europe at all, and more than three hundred years before Rollo, the first duke of Normandy (A.D. 911), existed; and we must not forget that when they did settle on the continent, it was on the site of an ancient British colony. No one has ventured, as far as I know, to give a date to any Norman building in Normandy earlier than A.D. 1000, the majority being ascribed to the time of the Conqueror himself and onwards, when, as has been shown, there was intimate intercourse between Normandy and England. I think the English were as likely to teach the Normans as the Normans to teach the English, who have, at all events, been pretty good hands at constructive works ever since; and I will be content to say, that we have no right to conclude a building cannot be Anglo-Saxon or Anglo-Roman, because it should happen to be large, durable, or ornamental.

ON SOME ORNAMENTS DISCOVERED IN WINCHESTER COLLEGE.

BY F. J. BAIGENT, ESQ.

THE accompanying drawings (see plate 17) represent some sculptured ornaments in the library of Winchester College. This building is situated in the centre of the cloister-garth, and was erected and endowed as a chantry

by John Fromond, esq., of Sparsholt, Hants, who was a great benefactor to both Wykeham's colleges, and founded this chantry about the year 1430. It is thirty-six feet in length, and eighteen in breadth. The roof is richly groined, though somewhat heavy, and upon the bosses are numerous shields charged with armorial bearings. The chantry was originally lighted by six large windows, some of them being now partially blocked up. The founder and his wife were buried in this chantry. Fromond by his will, A.D. 1420, bequeathed ten marks to be paid annually out of his manor of Allington for the support of the chaplain of this foundation, who was to sing for ever a daily mass for the repose of his soul, the soul of his wife, and for the souls of all the faithful departed; the chaplain was likewise to bear his part in the service of the college chapel on Sundays and the great festivals of the year. On one of the walls of the cloisters may still be seen a small strip of brass,—which no doubt was formerly inlaid on a slab in the floor of the chantry,—being the monumental inscription of its first chaplain:

Orate pro aīa Dñi Willī Cliffe primi Capellani istius
Capelle, qui obiit xxiiij die Mensis Martii An Dñi
M^o.cccc.xxiiij. Cujus aīe p̄picietur Deus. Amen.

John Fromond bequeathed liveries or gowns annually to the choristers of the college, and his wife Matilda or Maud gave two cups to the society.

“1. *Ciphus harnessiatus cum argento deaurato, vocatus note, cum coopere de argento deaurato, et scribitur in eodem,*

“HE SHALL HAVE CRYSTES BLESSYNG TO HYS DELE
WHOSO OF ME DRYNKETH WELE.”¹

Among the documents in the Augmentation Office is preserved a certificate of the survey of the college in the reign of Henry VIII, in which this foundation is thus recorded:

“One chantry.

“John Foremand and Maud his wife, to the intent to

¹ In Anthony à Wood's time the following fragment was visible, inscribed on the painted glass remaining in one of the chantry windows: “Matilda quondam uxor Johannis Fromond, legavit collegio Wynton cyphum harnessiatum cum argento deaurato vocatum.....” John Fromond likewise founded a chantry in the parish church of Sparsholt; it was probably in the aisle of the church, but no indication of this foundation remains. Sparsholt is a village about four miles to the west of Winchester.

have a priest to sing in the chapel within the cloister of the said college, three times in the week, and so to serve and sing in the choir of the same college on the holidays. The value of the said chantry is in money numbered £vi. xiiis. iiij*l*., which the priest hath and doth receive for his annual stipend."

Soon after the Reformation this building was converted into a library, and as such it is still used. A few months since some bookshelves having been removed, exposed to view, after a concealment of about one hundred and fifty years, a strip of panelling consisting of four quadrangular compartments with quatrefoils, and in the centre of each a sculptured ornament. This piece of panelling is immediately over the door of the chantry, and may be said to form its head. These having come under my observation on the 26th of January last, were forthwith denuded of the thick coatings of whitewash with which they were bedaubed, and proved not unworthy of the attention thus bestowed on them.

The first of these ornaments (plate 17, fig. 1) is, perhaps, that of the greatest interest: being a representation of the royal lion, used as the crest of the British sovereigns since the days of Edward III, made to do the office of shield bearer; from a strap passed across the breast of the animal hangs a shield charged with the arms of Fromond, *azure*, a chevron, *or*; between three fleur-de-lys, *argent*. The next ornament (fig. 2) is a richly sculptured mitre placed above a heart, the whole being surrounded by a wreath of entwined branches with flowers. This, I think, is an emblem of William Waynflete, who was a Wykehamist and head master of Winchester College, bishop of Winchester from A.D. 1447 to 1486, and founder of the college of St. Mary Magdalen, Oxford. In his monumental effigy in Winchester cathedral, this emblem (a heart) is represented held between the bishop's hands. The next compartment has two animals struggling together, or in other words quarrelling; this being without interest, no sketch was taken.

The next and last ornament (fig. 3) appears to be a castellan or warder blowing a trumpet, which he holds in his right hand, and in the other hand, resting on his shoulder, is a battle-axe: the spike at the back of the

blade has been broken off, and the upper part or termination of the handle damaged. The figure is represented with the slashed or indented sleeves of the fifteenth century; the cap on his head is also similarly ornamented; from a strap round the neck hangs what can scarcely be termed a shield, inasmuch as it is a square object, bearing the arms of Fromond; behind the figure appears the hinder portion of an animal,—perhaps a lion, to correspond with that in the first compartment and originally intended to have been carved.

It may be as well to mention, that on one of the shields on a boss in the roof, is represented a monkey riding on a dog, and carrying a rabbit hung on a stick over his shoulder. The thick coverings of whitewash discouraged me from attempting to sketch it.

NOTES ON THE OPENING OF THE TUMULI ON ASHEY DOWN.

BY BENJAMIN BARROW, ESQ.

THE following notes of the examination of tumuli on Ashey Down, Isle of Wight, have been forwarded to the Association through the Rev. E. Kell, F.S.A., by Benjamin Barrow, esq., the honorary secretary of the Isle of Wight Philosophical and Scientific Society. The examination commenced on June 23rd, 1853, and was continued on the 24th; resumed on the 13th July, and concluded on the 14th and 18th, this delay taking place in consequence of the bad state of the weather. The map (plate 18), which accompanies the description, has traced out the position and distance of the twelve tumuli which were examined, in relation to the sea mark situated on Ashey Down, and will form a most useful reference in regard to future excavations.





Of the twelve tumuli examined, that marked No. 1 (plate 18) was by far the largest; this is situated 1090 feet from the sea mark, and is 67° east of true north of the same point. The excavation was carried to the depth of twelve feet, ten of which were through what might be termed adventitious earth, *i. e.* earth which had been brought from some other spot; it consisted of mould and stones, and here and there flints were turned up. The earth had in many situations the appearance of mushroom spawn, and was found to contain on examination animal matter. At various depths, from that of two feet below the summit of this mound, were found human bones, a few belonging to animals, as also some teeth, portions of pottery with rude indentations, a few small pieces of iron pyrites, and an echinite. Throughout the whole excavation there were strong evidences of burning exhibited, in the presence of a considerable quantity of charcoal strewed in all directions. The microscope, although used by skilful hands, was unable to detect whether this charcoal (as well as that found in the other tumuli to be presently described) was the produce of animal or vegetable substances, in consequence of the original structure being entirely destroyed by burning. It has, however, been submitted to another test by one learned in chemistry, who reports that he believes it to be animal charcoal, chiefly because on adding sulphuric acid very little effervescence ensued, but thick white fumes were given off as if from phosphate of lime. At the depth of ten feet clean undisturbed marl or chalk was reached, and after excavating two feet deeper and no further remains being discovered, the examination of No. 2 was commenced. This is situated ninety-two feet from, and bears 37° west of true north of, tumulus No. 1. The excavation was continued through flints and earth, such as before described, to the depth of seven and a-half feet, when chalk was reached; at about sixteen inches in the chalk a heap of incinerated human bones was discovered. Throughout the whole excavation much charcoal was noticed, and a few teeth of animals at various depths.

No. 3, situated one hundred and twenty-seven feet from, and bearing 19° west of true north of, No. 1, was excavated to the depth of two feet entirely through flints, when an urn was discovered, bottom uppermost (the usual

position of these large urns containing funereal deposits), and concealed a heap of burnt human bones. The urn (see plate 19, fig. 1) is of rude manufacture of unbaked clay, the only ornament or marks being dotted lines on the rim, forming the lip; it is of a very large size, being twenty inches high, and five feet two inches in circumference at the widest part. The mouth was concealed six inches in the chalk. The urn may be said to have been completely buried in flints, for these were placed in close contact, to form, as it were, a wall around the urn. An echinite and charcoal were the only other objects observed in this tumulus.

No. 4, situated ninety-four feet from, and bearing 1° east of true north of, No. 1, was excavated through earth and stones until the chalk was reached; but nothing was here discovered but considerable heaps of charcoal.

No. 5, situated eighty-six feet from, and bearing 36° east of true north of, No. 1, was examined to the depth of from five to six feet, until the chalk was reached; the excavation being through a large mass of flints. At the depth of five feet a dagger, of copper or brass (see plate 19, fig. 2), much corroded, and very brittle, was found lying immediately on a heap of half-burnt human bones. Much charcoal and an echinite were also found.

No. 6, situated eighty-one feet from, and bearing 51° east of true north of, No. 1, was examined to a depth of about four feet down to the chalk, but charcoal was the only result.

Nos. 7, 8, 9, 10, and 11, were all excavated to various depths until the chalk was reached, but nothing was found.

No. 12, situated seven hundred and sixty feet from, and bearing 70° west of true north of sea mark, was examined by cutting a trench two feet wide, cross shaped, through the centre, and at the depth of two feet a small urn was found (see plate 19, fig. 3). It was standing on its bottom, about two inches in the chalk; it was filled with incinerated human bones. It is seven and a-half inches high, and two feet one inch in circumference in its widest part. It is of better finish, and of a harder material than the larger one. An echinite, the tusk of an animal, and a piece of iron pyrites, were the only other objects discovered.



Fig. 1.



Fig. 3.



Fig. 2.

FROM A TUMULUS ON ASHEY DOWN.



From the foregoing account it would appear probable that these tumuli were the burial places of the ancient Britons: the urns found being of the same description, and placed in a like position to those usually found, and which have always been believed to belong to this period; the mode of burial, the incinerated bones, and the shape of the tumuli, all tend to confirm this opinion.

ON IRISH ANTIQUITIES.

BY H. SYER CUMING, ESQ.

ALTHOUGH the spade, the pickaxe, and the ploughshare are continually bringing antiquities to light in Ireland, it is but rarely that those who reside on this side of St. George's Channel have an opportunity of examining anything like a series of Irish relics. To the kind exertions of our associate, Mr. O'Connor, we are now, however, enabled to inspect a small, but highly interesting, assemblage of articles found at different times in various parts of the island. The collection comprises relics of all epochs, from the earliest ages down to the close of the seventeenth century; and we therefore purpose considering them in chronological order, beginning with those belonging to the *stone period*. In this primeval age, every kind of arms, implement, or ornament, was of the most simple construction, and formed invariably of some natural substance. The mauls and axes are principally wrought of flint, porphyry, and basalt, and the blades of knives, chisels, daggers, spears, and arrows, are generally of flint or other silicious stone; although some of these arms are also formed of bone and horn, of which substances pins and needles were likewise made. And the neck of the rude savage was decked with strings of naturally perforated pebbles, bits of amber and bone, or shells pierced by



rubbing their sides upon a stone.¹ Another peculiarity which distinguishes the *stone period* from the succeeding one of bronze is, that the body of the deceased was inhumed entire, whilst in the *bronze period* the custom of cremation extensively prevailed. The specimens in the collection representing this simple and unartificial age, consist of three *celts* as they are most absurdly called. Two of them are axe-blades, of blackish-green basalt, and offer no striking difference in character from examples discovered in other parts of the *Britannic islands*. The obtuse end of the third specimen is broken off, but from the form of the keen edge, nearly parallel sides, and flattened surfaces, it may possibly be the remains of an adze blade; it is formed of light-coloured indurated clay slate.

The primeval history of Ireland, like that of most nations, is overshadowed with doubt, mystery, and fable; but the national annals speak of the *Firbolgs* or *Belgae* as being among the earliest inhabitants of the country, and of their conquest by the *Tuatha de Danans* from North Britain. Other races, however, are mentioned as colonists at a far remote period, such, for instance, as the *Fomorians* or sea-champions from Africa, and the *Nemedians*, who are stated to have been utterly annihilated by the former. Whether the arms and implements belonging to the so-called stone period are the work of one or any of these races, or of some still earlier and unrecorded tribes, is a curious question still open for inquiry. Our late associate, sir William Betham, considered them as the productions of the *Firbolgs* and *Tuatha de Danans*; and with this opinion I feel greatly inclined to coincide. But, at some very distant period, a powerful and highly cultivated race not only visited but planted colonies in Ireland; bringing with them a rich, copious, and truly poetic language; the sciences of music and navigation, a knowledge of metallurgy, the art of working and refining the base and precious ores, of manufacturing glass, and of constructing buildings which resemble the Cyclopean works upon the shores and islands of the Mediterranean Sea; introducing an annular currency of gold, silver, and bronze, in the place of the more primitive barter; and laid the foundation of a civilization, which long made Ireland great and

¹ Such a necklace was found in the cromlech in the Phoenix park, Dublin.

illustrious among the nations of the west. This race was doubtlessly of eastern origin, and many circumstances combine to lead to a belief that they were a Celtic branch of the Phœnician family, and the same people who are known in Irish story as the *Fenians*, or *Phenians*, and with whom and the *Danonians* there long subsisted a deadly feud. From the irruption of this foreign and civilizing element into Ireland, may be dated the commencement of the *bronze* or *Celtic period*, a period of much longer duration in Ireland than in any other country. To this period belong the torcs, bracelets, and golden ornaments, the vessels and utensils of gold and bronze, and brazen trumpets,¹ arms, and implements, which are so profusely scattered over the country. The weapons of this period consist of swords, daggers, spears, and javelins, of different forms and sizes; axes and arrows, clubs with their heads bristling with formidable spikes,² and probably military flails, the swingels of which were provided with dentated ferrules. Broad, short scythe-blades were also employed during the bronze period, and were either attached to the wheels of the war-chariot, or else mounted upon staves, to be used as martel-formed battle-axes. Of bronze swords, there are several varieties found in Ireland. The rarest are the quadrangular-bladed rapiers, of which an example was exhibited to the Association some few years back by Mr. Crofton Croker. The next in point of scarcity have blades broad next the hilt, and tapering to a point, like the daggers found in the Thames, Derbyshire, and Dorsetshire, figured in the *Journal* (i, 311; ii, 93, 235; and vii, 217). The most common type is the leaf-shaped sword, of which a representation is given in the *Journal* (i, 255), from an original found in county Tyrone. The swords generally measure about a cubit in length, but some are of a greater length, and would appear to have been intended for the use of cavalry and charioteers; they all have remarkably small hilts, which is also the case with the modern leaf-shaped swords of Africa. The wood, horn, or ivory, with which the grips were encased, have in almost every instance

¹ For an account of Irish trumpets, see *Journal*, v, 125.

² The bronze head of a *crannibh*, or war-club, found in Roscommon, is figured in the *Dublin Penny Journal*, ii, 20; and in our *Journal*, i, 249, is given another example, discovered in County Down.

perished, but the rivets used in attaching the casings are frequently remaining in the tangs. The perfect swords are usually met with in bogs, or on the site of some ancient earthwork; but those discovered in barrows are almost universally broken in two or more pieces, as if to indicate that the trusty blade was no longer of value, since the brave spirit of the warrior had quitted its earthly tenement. We have now before us an example of the leaf-shaped *cliaibh*, or sword, which has been broken into pieces, and which once doubtless formed part of a sepulchral deposit. It was discovered at Athenry, county Galway. Generally speaking, the blades of the *skeans*, or daggers, are wider in proportion than those of the swords. They occur of the broad taper form, and also of the leaf-shape. Some have sockets for the reception of hilts of wood or horn, while others have had their tangs covered with some material. Froissart (c. 24) states, upon the authority of Henry Christall, that the Irish, in the time of Richard II, had pointed knives with broad blades, sharp on both sides, like a dart-head; and so attached were the Irish to this national weapon, that the rebels under lord Edward Fitzgerald, in 1800, were actually armed with *skeans* of iron made according to the ancient type. One of these daggers, numbered 819, is preserved in the Meyrick collection at Goodrich court.

The brazen spears and lances next claim our notice. These may be divided into two groups: the first having flat blades, which were fixed into notches, at the broad, thin end of the staves; the second having sockets, into which the shafts were driven, and which frequently extended some distance up the centre of the blade. Some of the sockets are perforated for nails, others have lateral loops. The blades are both solid (like that found in Tyrone, given in the *Journal*, i, 255), and pierced or eyed, and they are occasionally decorated with chevron and other patterns, in a similar way to the spear-head found in Yorkshire, figured in the *Journal*, v, 349. Four examples of spear and lance heads are now before us. The first is a specimen of the thin, flat-bladed variety, four inches and seven-eighths in length, which resembles the earliest form of the British *gwuew-fon*, as represented in our *Journal*, i, 311, fig. 1, from an original discovered at Maidenhead. All the other examples are socketed, and two of them have

side-loops: one, probably a *laineach scalgach*, or hunting spear, exhumed near Drimna castle, county Dublin, measures three inches and a quarter in length, and is much like in form to the specimen ploughed up at Heage, in Derbyshire (see *Journal*, ii, 280). Another has such a prominent ridge running along both sides of the socket, that it reminds us of the four-winged spears found in the tombs of Etruria, and those still used by the natives of Zanzibar, in Africa. The present length of this specimen is five inches and three-quarters, but it has lost both its point and base of socket. The fourth specimen is undoubtedly a type of the *laineach-catha*, or war-spear. The blade is pierced or eyed, and the socket perforated for nails; it is ten inches and a quarter in length, and said to have been found at Athenry, county Galway. Besides the *laineach scalgach*, or hunting-spear, and the *laineach-catha*, or war-spear, the Irish had a kind of lance called *lagean*; and it is related in the ancient chronicle, the *Leabha Gabala*, that it was brought to Ireland, about two centuries and a half before Christ, by Labra Lonsach, on his return from exile in Gaul, and that the people of Leinster received their name of *Lagenians*, and their country that of *Coigea-Lagean*, from the use of this weapon.¹

With the spears we may associate a specimen of what has been termed the *pot*, or socketed celt, which a few months back I endeavoured to show was in reality the ferrule of a spear.² Since that time I have reconsidered the subject, and have now nothing to retract from, but rather to augment, the statements I then put forward; for I have learned that the ferrules found on the African spears, and which so closely resemble our socketed celts, are employed by the hunter in skinning his prey, after he has slain it with his lance. This example is three inches in length, and has a moulding surrounding the upper part.

The collection contains a good example of the flat blade of a *tuagh-catha*, or war-axe, measuring four inches in length, and three inches across its edge.

Our next group includes the implements called by the antiquaries of northern Europe, *paalstabs*. The first specimen has the lateral and transverse ridges but slightly raised above the surface; it is three inches and three-quarters long.

¹ See O'Flaherty's *Ogygia Domest.*, p. 269.

² See *Journal*, ix, 185.

The other two *paulstabs* have their ridges fully developed ; one measures four inches and a quarter, and the other about four inches and a half long. The last was found in county Dublin. All these specimens were cast without lateral loops.

Few remains of defensive armour of the bronze period have reached our time. There have, however, been discovered what are considered to be the golden pontlets of helmets, and a few brazen bosses, which would appear to have once served as ornaments of shields. One of these bosses is now before us, which in general form is much like the specimen found at Oxford (see *Journal*, vi, 56). It consists of a mound of four tiers, rising from a flat base, nearly one inch and seven-eighths diameter, having a projecting piece on its two opposite sides, which are pierced to admit rivets. This boss is most likely one of a pair which was placed over the part of the target where the handle was attached, a fashion still observable in the shields of several Asiatic nations. As the object is of rather rare occurrence, we have given a representation of it in plate 20, fig. 1.

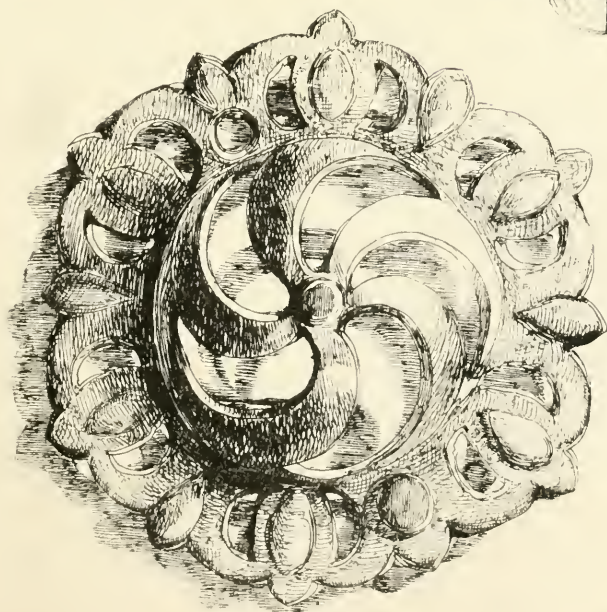
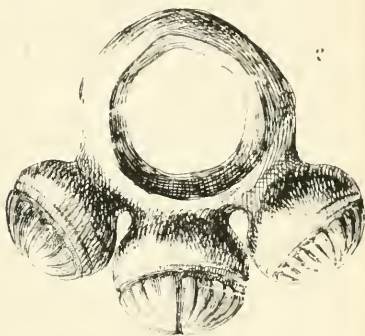
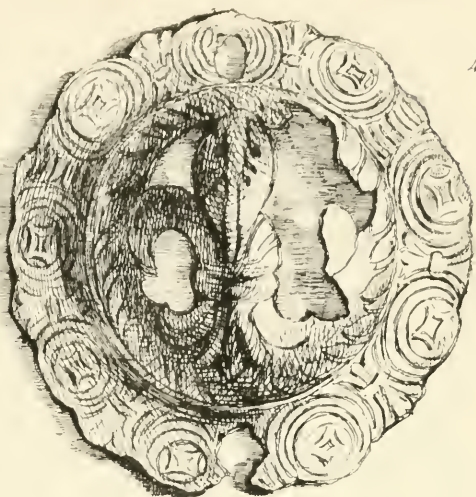
We learn from Cæsar,¹ Strabo,² Tacitus,³ and other ancient writers, that the armies of the Britannie islands were composed of infantry, cavalry, and charioteers, and it is therefore not surprising that great attention was bestowed on the construction of the bridle-bits, and head gear of the war steeds of the Hiberno-Celts. Many examples of admirably made bits of bronze have been exhumed from the bogs of Ireland ; they are generally snaffle-bits, consisting of two stout, curved branches, jointed in the centre, and having large, strong rings passing through each end, to which the bridle-rein was attached. A remarkably fine and perfect half of such a bridle-bit is now before us, which was found in county Dublin.

There have occasionally been found in Ireland bronze rings having three prominent balls or pellets projecting from one side. This number has given rise to the notion that these were Trinity rings, worn by early ecclesiastics ; but it is evident, from the way in which the metal is worn away on the inner side of the rings, opposite to the line of

¹ De Bell. Gall., lib. iv and v.

² Lib. iv, 200.

³ Vita Agric., c. 12 and 36, and Annales, xiv, 11.



H C Pulgren



balls, that they were employed as pendent ornaments in horse furniture. If a mystic and religious meaning must be attached to the three balls, it might be found in the respect and veneration for that number among the Druids. We have here an exceedingly fine example of one of these rings, which was discovered at Drimna castle, the same locality where the hunting-spear was met with. A representation of this ring is given in plate 20, fig. 2.

We can scarcely imagine that a people possessed of such rich and costly trinkets, and well made arms, implements, and utensils, as were the Hiberno-Celts, could have been destitute of a recognized metallic currency. Barter and exchange are characteristic of a rude and barbarous state of society, which could not have existed among such a cultivated people. The circulating medium of this ancient race seems to have consisted of rings of gold, silver, and bronze, formed according to a certain fixed standard, which closely approximated to what is now known as Troy weight. Three specimens of what are presumed to be ring-money are now before you ; they weigh respectively 5 dwts. 12 gr., 4 dwts. 2 gr., and 2 dwts. 14 gr. They are all of bronze. The thin, inscribed coins of the Chinese are nothing more or less than an improved ring-currency, the central aperture being square instead of round ; and the monetary transactions of Guinea, at the present day, are actually carried on with iron and copper pieces of a certain weight, which in form exactly resemble many of the golden pieces found in Ireland. These rings, which are called *manillas* by the natives, are now manufactured at Birmingham for exportation ; and a ship containing several boxes of them was wrecked in Ballycotton bay, near Cork, in the summer of 1836. Through this event many specimens of Anglo-African ring-money have found their way into Ireland, and the example in the present collection probably formed part of the cargo of this unfortunate vessel.

It is a remarkable circumstance that, although we find chevron, circular, and other patterns, introduced as decorations upon the implements and vessels of the bronze period, no attempt seems to have been made to represent the forms of either men, animals, or plants. Whether it were a part of the religious creed of this period to abstain from such representations, or whether such representations

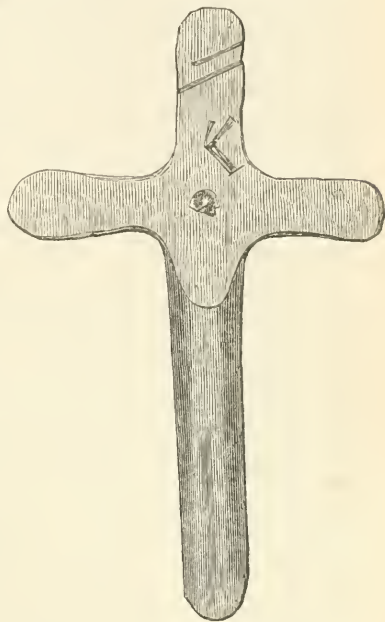
were reserved wholly for religious purposes, is a question of some importance. The British coins certainly exhibit figures and devices which might well bear a mythological interpretation; and a few little figures have been found in Ireland which are conjectured to represent *Anu*, the mother of the gods, or *Beineid*, the goddess of war; *Eochaidh*, the protector of horses and cattle, and other deities of the pagan Irish. To the images already noticed as being discovered in Ireland, the collection adds another example; it is of yellow bronze, two inches and three-eighths high,¹ and from its attitude was once seated upon some object. The only clothing is a short-sleeved garment, descending a little below the hips, and which may possibly be the dress termed *cota* by the Irish, and *pais* and *phillibeg* by the Britons and Gaels. It is but right to state that doubts have been expressed regarding the antiquity of this figure; doubts which probably arose from the fact that some person, through ignorance or wilfulness, has passed a file over the whole surface of the object, even filing the soles of the feet to produce shoe-heels. This image is of so unusual a character that we have selected it for representation in plate 20, fig. 3.

The introduction of Christianity into Ireland in the reign of Logiore, by St. Patrick, about the year 432, commenced a new era in the arts, as well as the religion of the country. The facile conversion, or rather passive reception of the gospel by the natives, forms a feature in Irish history almost unparalleled in the history of any other country. The favour shown to the new faith and its disciples, prompted many a neophyte to seek that peace and safety in Erin which was denied in other lands, and the welcome and hospitality exhibited to distressed and persecuted strangers were the means of luring to its shores men of learning, genius and piety, from distant regions. Through the agency of these foreign refugees a tinge of Byzantine taste was infused into the decorative arts of Ireland, and the bold, simple, and severe style which characterises the productions of the Bronze period, was soon lost in the elaborate ornamentation which followed in the wake of the

¹ It may be well to mention that three varieties of bronze are found in Ireland; one, the ordinary bronze, another of a dark red colour, approaching to copper; and the third, of a yellow colour, much like brass.

Christian missionary. This revolution in taste was not, however, peculiar to Ireland, for it is observable throughout Europe, from the shores of the Baltic to those of the Seine.

We are fortunate in having a relic of the earliest ages of Christianity in the bronze cross (see woodcut annexed), which measures three inches and one-eighth high, and has engraved on the upper part of the perpendicular shaft two characters of the *Babeloth*, or most ancient Irish alphabet. The first letter is incomplete, but most probably intended for the *r*, the lower one is the completely formed *c*; the two characters doubtlessly standing as the initials of *Jesus Christus*; for as the cross was as much a pagan as a Christian symbol, it became necessary, on the adoption of the new faith, to place this distinguishing mark upon the old emblem. This simple cross of bronze forms a striking contrast to the richly wrought silver-gilt crucifix figured in the *Journal*, vi, 441, which may be regarded as of Irish workmanship of the thirteenth century.



In Scotland, but more especially in Ireland,¹ have been discovered numerous *fibulæ* which, from the great length of the *acus*, may not inappropriately be termed pin-brooches. From the remains with which they are generally associated, we are led to believe that they are of Scandinavian origin, and introduced into Scotland and Ireland by the *Vikings* or sea rovers in some of their piratical excursions. The collection furnishes an example of one of these pin brooches; it is of bronze, the *acus* being about four inches long, and the stout unadorned ring one inch in diameter. A specimen closely resem-

¹ Some interesting examples of Irish *fibulæ* are figured in the *Journal*, iii, 285, and v, 113, 118.

bling this one is engraved in the *Journal* (ii, 333), which was discovered near Pier-o-wall, Orkney.

The hostile incursions and partial conquest of the Danes and Norwegians at the close of the eighth and during the two following centuries, form a distinct era in the art-history of Ireland, for to them may be assigned the introduction of arms and implements of iron. The earliest swords, spears, etc., of this metal hitherto discovered in the country, so closely resemble those met with in Scandinavia, that we must attribute their manufacture to the men of *Lochlin*, as these fierce northern marauders were collectively called by the native bards and chroniclers. And to them also was Ireland indebted for her first stamped money. The political troubles that these invaders brought upon the country, and the domestic feuds which followed their subjugation, had naturally a baneful influence upon the arts; but they were still cultivated with considerable success, and there yet remains many a fibula, cross, reliquary, and book-cover, to attest the skill of the sculptor, goldsmith, and jeweller. We have here a fine polished crystal, of an oval form, set in silver, which would appear to have been employed in the adornment of the cover of a book, though it is stated to be from a shrine once belonging to St. Patrick. The craft of the lapidary and worker in precious metals was frequently exercised in ornamenting the covers of the Gospels, Psalms, and other sacred writings, which had belonged to the early saints of Ireland; and these gorgeously bound volumes were preserved in shrines, or cases of wood, covered with metal plates richly wrought with elaborate designs, and set with polished crystals and gems: as examples of such cases, we may mention the *Cuah* or *Cathach*, containing the Psalter of St. Columba; the *Domnach Airgid*, in which the Gospel used by St. Patrick is deposited; the *Leabhar Dhimma*, the *Meeshac Cearnachan*, etc.

From the time of the Anglo-Norman invasion in the reign of Henry II, the peculiar characteristics of Irish art seem to have gradually given way, so that after this period it is no easy matter to decide whether many of the articles discovered in the island be of native or foreign manufacture.¹ We have endeavoured up to this point to make

¹ As examples of foreign articles found in Ireland, we may refer to the Sara-

our specimens illustrative of distinct and well marked epochs; but those of a later period are so few in number, that we may speak of them more according to their original uses than to their relative ages.

Among the more interesting of the specimens which remain to be described, are the two bosses from the sides of bridle-bits delineated in plate 20; both these bosses are of bronze. The centre of fig. 4 is wrought with a large fleur-de-lis, and from the way in which it is treated, as also from the marginal decorations, it would appear to belong to the fifteenth century. The other boss (fig. 5) which was discovered in county Dublin, is of a freer and less massy design than the first specimen; it is the work of the sixteenth century, and bears a considerable resemblance to the bosses upon a bit of the time of Elizabeth engraved in Skelton's *Meyrick*, plate cxxx, fig. 2.²

Here are also two frames of bronze buckles of neat design, which seem referrible to the sixteenth century.

We have now to notice a sword-grip of iron, inlaid with gold: a rich and beautiful example of the art called *agemina* by the Italians. The design consists of four compartments, formed by waved lines, each space being filled with birds, cornucopiæ, flowers, etc. This most elegant specimen is of the time of Elizabeth, and was found on the site of the famous battle of the Boyne.

The next specimens in point of date are two brass shell-guards of swords, bearing mythological subjects in relief; they are both the work of the seventeenth century, and good examples of their kind.

A pair of compasses, with curiously bowed stems, three inches and three-quarters long, and an escutcheon from the lock of a coffer, the keyhole being surmounted by a royal crown, and having the lion and unicorn for supporters; both specimens are of brass, and both productions of the seventeenth century, close our catalogue of this most curious and interesting collection.

Although the specimens we have been considering are but few in number, they are yet of value as types marking

cenic stirrup given in the *Journal*, i, 46; and the Chinese seals, in i, 43, and ix, 93.

¹ We may here mention, that in the *Journal* (viii, 55) is engraved a very fine spur of the fifteenth century, found at Wexford.

the development and progress of civilization in Ireland. First we see the rude implements of stone, resembling in many respects the productions of modern savages; then the arms, etc., of bronze, equalling in construction and finish the handiwork of the Egyptian, Greek, or Roman artificer; then follow the relics of the Christian period, introducing us to new modes of thought, and to a new style of art. Each specimen is a link in the chain of Ireland's history: the stone implements attest her primeval barbarism,—the brazen relics proclaim the skill of her ancient craftsmen. And though the glory of Tara has passed away,—though the voice of the *Ollam-re-dan* is no longer heard within its once stately halls, and its ruined walls no longer reecho the melodious strains of the harps of the *Orfidigh*, and chief and *Brehon* no longer gather round the royal seat, these enduring relics of the past bear witness that Ireland was not, as some would have us believe, ever barbarous until the holy Patrick bore the Gospel to her shores, or Dermot, king of Leinster, invoked the aid of Strongbow and his mail-clad followers. These relics are the foot-prints of her early colonizers, the medals of her ancient civilization, her ancient greatness.

Proceedings of the Association.

MAY 10.

THE following were elected Associates :

Sir Benjamin Hall, bart., M.P., Great Stanhope-street.
 John Grantham Robinson, esq., Gunter's-grove, Brompton.
 V. P. Sells, esq., Trinity-square, Southwark.
 James Edmeston, esq., Thiberton-square, Islington.
 Henry Parfitt, M.D., Conduit-street.
 William Walton, esq., Carrara.
 Talbot Pope Dobson, esq., 32, Piccadilly.
 John Franklin, esq., 2, Thistle-grove, Old Brompton.
 William Goddard, esq., Bank House, Longton, Staffordshire.
 Alfred Elwes, esq., 10A, King's Arms-yard, Moorgate-street.
 J. H. Le Keux, esq., 10, Belgrave-street, King's Cross.

Thanks were voted for the following presents :

From the Cambrian Archæological Society. Archæologia Cambrensis,
 No. 17. 8vo.
 ——— *Suffolk Archæological Institute.* Their Transactions, Part I,
 Vol. ii. 8vo.
 ——— *Editor.* Civil Engineers' Journal for May. 4to.

Mr. Patrick exhibited a massive gold betrothal-ring, which was said to have formerly belonged to lord Southampton. It bore the initials H and S, united together by a true lovers' knot, resembling those figured in the *Journal*, vol. iv, pp. 389-390, where the subject is treated of. This ring belonged to the time of Elizabeth.

Mr. Whichcord, jun., F.S.A., produced an early ring, of Oriental make, and a fine spear-head in flint, both lately found at Maidstone. The spear-head was admirably executed, and perfect, measuring eight inches in length.

The rev. Thomas Hugo, M.A., F.S.A., exhibited a bronze fibula and ring, belonging to the Roman period; and another antiquity, in bronze, found in April last in Bucklersbury. The latter was conjectured to be of

a later time, but, from its imperfect state, there is some difficulty in stating its precise nature.

Mr. C. R. Griffiths exhibited an interesting piece of ancient sculpture, which for many years has been lying in the vaults of the workhouse of St. Martin's parish. It is a sepulchral tablet, and represents three figures. Time has much injured its surface; but it presents a specimen of good art, and from its execution, as well as the marble of which it is sculptured, was pronounced by Mr. W. Calder Marshall, R.A., to be Greek. No history could be obtained respecting it; but on the site of the workhouse there was formerly a stoneyard, and it has probably been derived from thence.

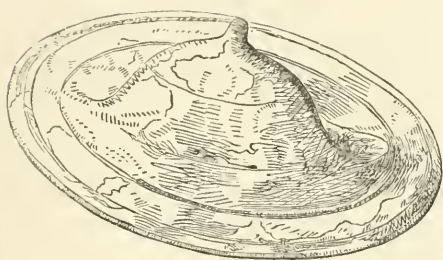
Mr. M. O'Connor exhibited a collection of antiquities found at different times in Ireland. These having been assigned by the Council to Mr. H. Syer Cuming for examination, that gentleman read a paper descriptive of the principal part, for which see *ante*, pp. 165-176, and plate 20.

Mr. Thomas Gunston exhibited a "rubbing from the Flemish brass of abbot De la Mare. This splendid memorial, measuring nine feet two inches in length, by four feet three inches in breadth, lies within the chantry of abbot Wheathamstede, in the abbey church of St. Alban. The deceased prelate is represented as habited in the chasuble, ornamented about its border, and has a central apparel resembling a pall. Over this is the embroidered amice, arranged loosely about the neck. The alb, richly adorned with orfrey work, is surmounted by a tunic and dalmatic, beneath which appear the fringed ends of the narrow scarf, or stole; and from the left arm depends the maniple. On his head is the *mitra preciosa*; the hands, which are crossed and point downwards, are covered with jewelled gloves. On his left arm rests his pastoral staff, the head enclosing an *Agnus Dei*; and his feet, which are encased in rich sandals, rest upon two dragons. The diapered field around the figure consists of small, elaborately foiled compartments, each containing a figure of a dragon; or clustered trefoil, resembling the diaper of the brass of Alan Fleming at Newark. The richly foliated canopy is surmounted by tabernacle work, with representations of our Saviour enthroned, attended by angels holding thuribles and instruments of music. Beyond these, on either side, are seated the apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, and below stand St. Alban and Offa king of Mercia. The sides of the canopy are divided into minor canopied niches, and contain figures of saints. The inscription, in bold Longobardic capitals, runs thus: *IIIC . JACET . DOMINUS . THOMAS . QVONDAM . ABBAS . HVIIVS . MONASTERII*. In the centre of the brass fillet, on either side, is a shield, bearing on a bend three eagles displayed; and at the angles are the evangelistic emblems."

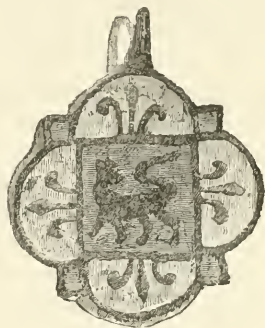
Mr. J. Clarke exhibited three rubbings of brasses from Easton church, Suffolk, the earliest of which represents a man in armour. No inscription now remains attached to it; but it is that of John Brook, and of the

date of A.D. 1426. It has been engraved by Cotman, and is mentioned by Manning in his list of brasses, p. 74. The others were of John Wingfield and Radcliffe Wingfield, also engraved by Cotman. The inscription of the former reads: "Here lyeth John Wingsfelde of Eston, esquier, one of the sonnes of Thomas Wingfeld, late of greate Dunham, in the county of Norff, esquier; which said John Wingfeld dyed and was buryed in the moneth of January, and in the yeare of our Lord God 1584": the latter,—“Here lyeth buried Radcliff Wingfeld, the wyfe of Thomas Wingfeld of Easton, esquier, y^e daughter of sir Gilbert Gerrarde, knight, of Bromley Gerrarde in Stafforde shire, sometyme Master of the Rowles, and of dame Anne Gerrarde his wyfe, which saide Radcliff dyed the xviith daye of July 1601.”

Mr. Robert Sadd, jun., of Cambridge, sent for exhibition a very early fibula found at Cambridge. It is represented in the annexed wood-cut. He also transmitted another antiquity, of a much later date, found also at Cambridge. It is a badge enamelled on copper. In form it is that of a



Fibula.



Badge.

quatrefoil enclosing a square, in which, on a blue ground, is a lion passant regardant. A semi fleur-de-lis, dimidiated per fess, appears in each semicircle, the ground being red. The animal, flowers, and bordering lines, are black. The badge has a ring for suspension. Mr. C. Baily, F.S.A., made some observations on the uses of such badges, and noticed those which are still to be seen on the effigy of Aylmer de Valence, in Westminster abbey. Mr. O'Connor suggested that the ornament was of an ecclesiastical character, the shape being similar to that of the morse.

MAY 24.

The following associates were elected:—

C. Robertson Griffiths, esq., Registrar's Office, St. Martin's.

Thomas Smith, esq., Hoxton.

Adam Sim, esq., Cultermains, Lanarkshire.



Mr. J. Clarke exhibited a small brass coin of Constantinus Tiberius, found in Suffolk. It is described in *Akerman's Catalogue*, ii, 407, A.D. 574-582.

Mr. Clarke also communicated a few particulars relating to the discovery of mural paintings in Easton church, Suffolk, which are now destroyed. It appears that in 1847, some masons being employed to scrape the walls of Easton church, they brought to light several paintings on the south walls. The first was over the pulpit, and represented a bishop with a mitre on his head and a long staff in his right hand, and a clasp book in his left; he was depicted looking to the east.

The second figure was between the two windows towards the gallery, and represented a king with a sceptre in the right hand pointed downwards, and the globe in his left. He appears to have had an arched crown, but this was greatly defaced.

The third figure, near the gallery, represented a merry charlatan on horseback, having a deep conical cap and ribbons flying from the top; he held a spear in his right hand, and pointed downwards with his left; the horse was lying on its legs.

The fourth and fifth figures were under the preceding, and represented a furious archer, furnished with a long beard and a close cap; he was in the act of discharging an arrow at a well formed and rather aged captive, who stood erect with his hands fastened behind him, and his eyes turned from his enemy and nearly closed.

In placing a tablet in the north wall opposite the pulpit in 1831, to the memory of the earl of Rochfort, paintings of the Virgin and Child, the ox and manger, and other figures connected with the Holy Nativity, were brought to light, and it appears probable that the paintings had extended throughout the church.

Mr. Thompson produced a much corroded bronze, which had been elegantly enamelled, and represented a bird, the head and legs of which were however wanting. Mr. Pettigrew had no hesitation in stating it to be Egyptian, and that the bird intended to be represented was the ibis, and the figure had probably belonged to an Egyptian standard. It had been discovered among some old brass, and its history therefore is entirely unknown.

The rev. Thomas Hugo, F.S.A., exhibited a small bronze Hercules, lately found in New Cannon street; and another belonging to Mr. Bate-man, of Youlgrave, Derbyshire, of a more ancient character, found at York, was also shewn.

Mr. Pettigrew, F.R.S., F.S.A., communicated the following extract of a letter received by him from Mr. Seymour Kirkup, of Florence, containing some particulars in confirmation of the opinion¹ generally enter-

¹ See sir Frederic Madden's introduction to *Syr Gawayne*; and M. Paulin Paris, *Les Manuscrits François de la Bibliothèque du Roi*, tom. ii; also the

tained as to Gualter Mapes' claim to the authorship of *Lancelot du Lac* and other mediæval romances. Mr. Kirkup writes: "It is curious that more appears to be known of our heroic history and romance abroad than in England. The romances of Charlemagne are only recent imitations of those of our Arthur, which were the admiration of the earlier ages. I find that Dante cites them no less than seven times. That greatest of poets and scholars of his age (he died in 1321), says: '*Allegat ergo pro se lingua oil [the French, so called from the word *oui*] quod propter sui faciliorem ac delectabiliorem vulgaritatem quicquid redactum, sive inventum est ad vulgare prosaicum, suum est: videlicet biblia cum Trojanorum, Romanorumque gestibus compilata, et *Arturi regis ambages pulcherrima*, et quam plures aliæ historiæ ac doctrinæ.'* (*De Vulgari Eloquentio*, i, 10.) It was from them that sir Thomas Malory collected the materials of his *Morte Darthur*. The principal one being *Lancelot du Lac*, written by our Walter Mapes. I have the Paris edition of 1513, in three volumes folio, which makes no mention of that fact, but it is more than once repeated in my noble manuscript in four volumes large folio, without date; but, judging from the writing and miniatures, of the first half of the fifteenth century, finely preserved, and richly bound à la Louis XIV, from the library De la Valière. The passage is as follows:

" 'Quant ils eurent mangie a court si fet le roy auant venir les cleres qui mectoient en esc'pt (écrit) les auantures aux ch'lsrs (chevaliers) de leans Et quant bohort eut contees les auantures du Sangraal telles coïment il les auoit veues Si les mirèt en esc'pt et furent gardees en laumaire (l'armoire) de Salebieris (Salisbury) Dont *maistre gaultier map* les traist pour faire un liure dugraal pour lamour du roy henry son seigneur qui fist listoire translater de latin en françois Si sen taist le conte que plus nen p'le des auantures du saint graal. Deo grās.'

"Then follows:—

" 'Cy coïmence le derrain liure du saintgraal qui sapelle la mort du roy artus Et la destrucion dela table ronde Et commance coïme agrauain fist entendant auroy artus les amours dela royne geneure et de lancelot Dulac.

" 'Après ce que maistre gautier map eut traicte des auantures dusaint graal asses souffisamment si coïme il luy sembloit si fut auis auroy henry

introduction, by Mr. Thos. Wright, to the Latin poems commonly attributed to Walter Mapes, published by the Camden Society in 1841, in which will be found extracts from the inedited *Speculum Ecclesie* of Giraldus Cambrensis, giving some particulars relating to Walter Mapes, and of his animosity to the White or Cistercian monks. Mr. Halliwell, in 1847, published, for private circulation only, *The Alliterative Romance of the Death of King Arthur*, first printed from a MS. in Lincoln cathedral, transcribed about the year 1440. In Mr. Halliwell's preface to this work, and in the introduction to the *Thornton Romances*, also by Mr. Halliwell, and published by the Camden Society in 1844, much interesting information may be obtained on this subject, and that of early English metrical romances in general.

son seigneur que ce quil avoit fait ne luy deuoit pas souffire sil ne racōtoit lafin de ceulx dont il auoit fait mencion cōmēt ils moururēt Desquels il a raconte les proesses en son liure Et pource cōmensa il ceste derreniere partie Et quant ileut mis en semble il lapela lamort duroy artus pource q' vers lafin est escript cōment le roy artus fut naure en la bataille de Salibieres et cōmēt il se partit de girflet qui tāt luy fist cōpaignie que apres luy ne fut hōme qui le vist viuant Si cōmence maistre gautier en telle maniere ceste derreniere partie.'

"At the end it runs thus:—

" 'Asses me suis trauaille pour venir alafin de cest liure longuemēt y ay entendu et longuemēt ouure ladieu mercy qui lesens et lepouvoir men adonne beaux dis et plaisans y ay mis amō pouoir. Et pour les beaux dis qui y sont que monsg^r leroi henry dangleterre a bien veus de chief en chief et voit encores souuēteffois Coīne celuy qui amerueilles scet delire Et je maistre gautier map en mercie moult leroi henry monseigneur de ce quil loc cestuy mien liure et de ce quil luy doīe si grant pris Et en lafin de cestuy mien liure mercie monsg^r le createur duciel et dela terre de ce quil ma donne force et victoire¹ le liure de galaad et la destrucion dela table ronde tout entieremēt si quil ny faille riens.'

"Explicit—of all which there is not a word in the printed edition. I send it you exact. It is not always easy to decypher, though the hand is a fine one, and there are no accents nor stops. I have found, too, one of the allusions of Dante, which is not to be found in the printed edition, in which I looked long in vain. It is this:—

'Onde Beatrice, eh'era un poco scevra
Ridendo parve quella che tossio
Al primo fatto scritto di Ginevra.' (*Par.*, xvi, 13.)

"In this manuscript the whole is explained by a long passage, that is left out in the edition, and it is curious to see how the commentators have been at fault for want of it, and with what à-plomb they pretend to explain the meaning of it.

"But to return to the *Morte Darthur*: Caxton says in his preface, 'Whiche cōpye sir T. Malorye did take out of certayn *bookes* of Frenche and reduced it into Englyshe'; which proves that he did not translate a compendium already made, but compiled it himself from several books, which I suppose were the romances of Merlin, Lancelot, Tristan, S. Graal, and perhaps Percival de Galles. Southey is mistaken on this point and many others; Gyron le Courtoys and Meliadus belong to another generation. What a pity the French do not reprint these important works instead of the trifles they do! Why do not our own antiquaries and societies undertake them? They were written for our Henry II, whose court was at Caen. If I were rich, I would do them all as hand-

¹ A word wanting, perhaps *d'ecrire*. "Scat delire (sait lire)".

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Please **unfold carefully** to avoid tearing. In **re-folding**, be sure you return to **original folds**. If a reference book, ask the assistant to do it for you, rather than re-fold wrongly.

XIX K^e SEPTBR
 SEVSEBII TFSR
 & HEC ECCTA
 FVTC DEDICACA
 IN HONORE SC^e
 DT MATR^e MARE

DEDICATION STON. IN POSTLING CHURCH, KENT.

somely as Southey did Caxton's. Cannot you engage your Association in such a patriotic enterprise? It was the Iliad of the middle ages, and it was English. The original sources from which the French derived their subjects still exist, which we owe to the patriotism of Mr. O. Jones. They are accessible only to a learned few. The Myvyrian Archæology of Wales is still untranslated; the Mabinogion, by a lady, is not very exact: take the first line:—

‘Yr amherawdyr arthur oed ygkacrllion arwise.

King Arthur was at Caerlleon upon Usk.’

Why not translate it ‘the emperor’ at once and correctly? There are many reasons, and it would mark its age and authenticity. The Britons were used to the name of emperor, the Romans having just left them. It was from the Welsh, not the Latin, that I think Mapes took his materials; and Lancelot, the Achilles of the Round Table, *was* a Welshman, though he makes him a Frenchman. ‘En la marche de Gaulle et de la petite Bretagne lived his father king Ban of Benoic, and bordering on the side of Berry, called the Terre Deserte, was king Claudas, sire of Bourges.’

“Several of the Cento Novelle Antiche relate to adventures of king Arthur's knights, and his name was famous all over Europe, then more than at present. I have old Italian translations in print of Merlin and Gyron, and I have seen those of Lancelot and Tristan. There is a sort of compendium in Italian something like that of Malorye in English. It has never been printed. I have seen three manuscripts of it in the public libraries, but they are all mutilated, so that I could not collect one complete copy from them all. The most perfect is in the Magliabecchian library, of which I have procured a copy. Another English romance, of less consequence, has been long known in Italian verse as well as prose, Sir Bevis of Hampton. Giovanni Villani, in the fourteenth century, mentions Buovo di Antona.”

In the editions and manuscripts of Lancelot the fourth part is called *Le Livre du Saintgraal*, and the fifth part *La Mort du Roi Artus*.

Mr. Bennett sent a drawing of the porch of Chalk church, Kent, representing in its sculpture the Whitsun ale. Mr. Pettigrew observed that this subject had been copiously treated by the late Mr. Douce, in Carter's *Specimens of Ancient Sculpture*, in reference to St. John's church, Cirencester. The drawing was referred for further consideration.

Mr. Thurston, of Ashford in Kent, presented to the Association a cast of the dedication stone of Postling church, Kent, the building of which has been assigned to the time of Edward the Confessor. The stone is under the north window in the chancel, and reads thus: XIX. KAL. SEPTEMBRIS SANCTI EUSEBII CONFESSORIS, ETC. HÆC ECCLESIA FUIT DEDICATA IN HONORE SANCTÆ DEI MATRIS Mariæ. See fac-simile, plate 21.

Mr. John Hay, of Brewood, Staffordshire, exhibited by Mr. Planché twenty-five deeds of, and relating to, the Morton family (earls of Ducie), of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Many of the seals were very perfect, and the documents were referred for particular examination.

Mr. King exhibited a variety of excellent rubbings from brasses, of which the following are the principal:

Ringwood, Hants. *Circa* 1416. A priest habited in cassock, surplice, almice, and cope. The orphrey of the cope is embroidered with figures of saints, under canopies, in the following order, viz.:—St. Michael spearing a dragon, and holding a shield, with emblem of the Holy Trinity, in his left hand. St. John the Baptist with lamb on a book, and with tunic of camel's hair (?). St. Peter with key and book. St. Paul with sword. St. Margaret piercing a dragon with a long cross. St. Catherine with wheel and sword. St. Winifred holding a book in her left hand. This saint, not being represented as usual, viz., carrying her head cut off (see Husenbeth's *Emblems of Saints*), has the words "Stā Wēfrida" written beneath her; the morse is ornamented with a head of our Saviour; the head of the priest rests on two embroidered cushions; the face is finished with more than usual care, and is doubtless intended for a portrait; above the figure is a portion of a fine single canopy: several shields and a marginal inscription are lost. This brass is much worn, and lies in the centre of the chancel.

St. Denys, Stanford Dingley, Berks. 1444. Margaret Dyneley, habited in a long gown, short waisted, with girdle and deep sleeves close at the wrist, and collar turned back; she wears also the horned head-dress;

‘Subiacet hoc lapide . Mergret Dyneley tumulata
Quondā Willm̄i Dyneley . coniux vocitata
Armigeri regis, modo v'mibus esca parata
M . dn̄i . C . quater . quater . x . quater . I . cedit illa
Romani festo . Jesus ergo sui memor esto.’

Beneath a shield bearing three lions rampant.

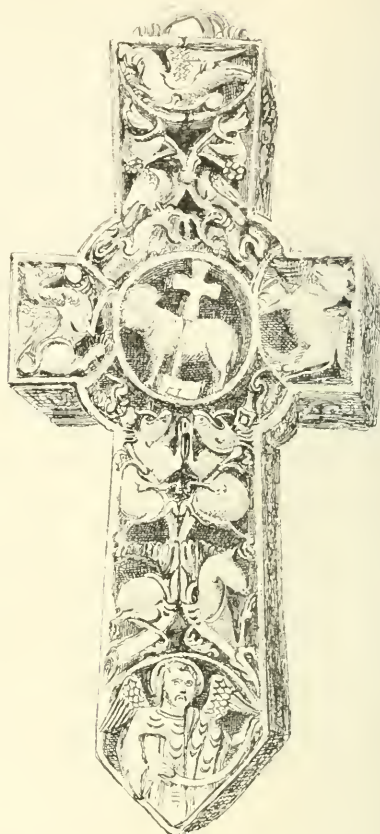
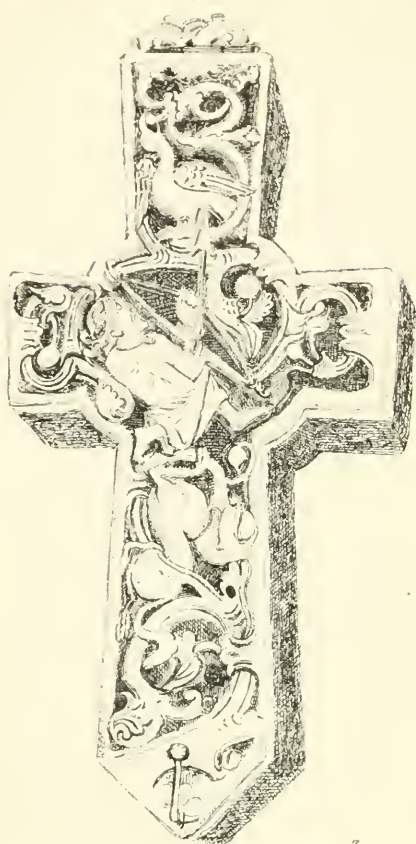
Circa 1460. St. Alban's Abbey. A demi figure of a monk; this brass lies loose in abbot Wheathampstead's chapel.

Circa 1470. Robert Beauner, a monk, habited in a vestment with surplice-like sleeves; he holds a heart, with six wounds; from his mouth proceeds a scroll containing these words: "Cor mundum crea in me Deus"; the inscription describes the various offices held by him in the monastery; this brass remains apparently in its original position, viz. the choir, and is much worn; persons passing frequently over it on their way to an unsightly gallery in the north transept.

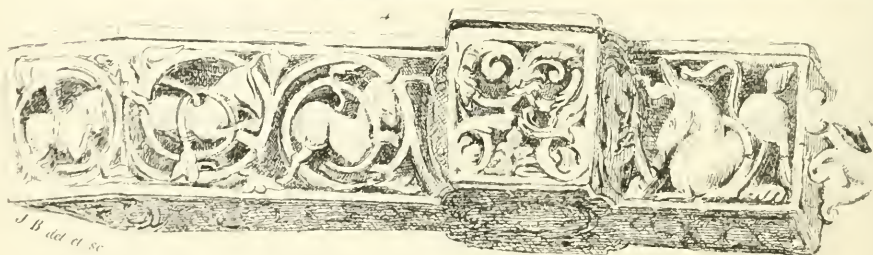
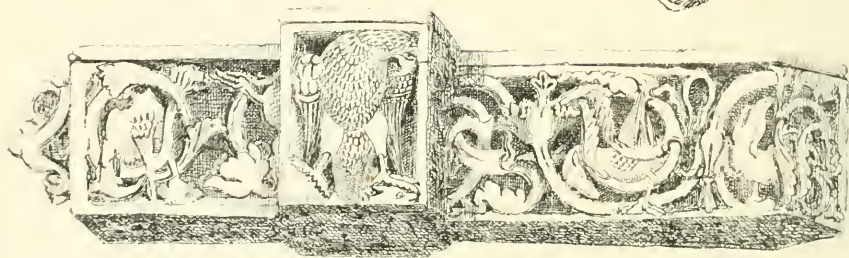
Circa 1470. St. Alban's Abbey. A civilian, in long gown, edged, and apparently lined with fur; from his girdle depends a rosary.

1480. St. Alban's Abbey. Sir Anthony Grey; he has long hair, and





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J. B. del et sc.

wears a collar of suns and roses, pauldrons, elbow-pieces, and gauntlets composed of a single plate, at the extremities of which the fingers are visible; three taces, to which tuilles are attached; the tuilles genouillières and sollerets are pointed; a large sword is suspended diagonally in front of his legs; his head rests upon a tilting helmet. This brass is engraved in Boutell, and lies in the choir.

Circa 1480. St. Alban's Abbey. A monk, wearing a vestment shaped like a surplice. This brass is loose, and is kept in abbot Wheathampstead's chapel.

1482. Stoke Charity, Hants. Thomas Wayte, esq., in armour; from his mouth proceeds a scroll, inscribed "Ihū fili dei miserere mei", addressed to a figure of our Saviour rising from the tomb. Beneath the figure is the following inscription: "Hic jacet Thomas Wayte armiger q̄ obiit x^o die Aplis A^o Dñi m^o cccc lxxxii^o cui' aīc ppiciet' de' Amen."

Stoke Charity, Hants. Thomas Hampton, esq., in armour, and Isabella his wife. The feet of Thomas Hampton rest on a greyhound; from his mouth proceeds a scroll, inscribed "Pat' de Celis de' miserere Nobis"; from the mouth of the wife proceeds a scroll, inscribed "Scā Trinitas un. de. misere. nobis", addressed to a representation of the Holy Trinity above the figures; beneath are figures of two sons and six daughters.

1521. St. Alban's Abbey. Thos. Rutland, sub-prior; this figure is vested like those before-mentioned. This brass is loose in abbot Wheathampstead's chapel, having been removed from the south transept, where the marginal inscription still is concealed by pews.

Captain Shortt, of Heavitree, Exeter, forwarded some "Notes of a visit to Berry Castle and Sidbury Castle, the latter supposed to be the Tidortis or Tidertis of the anonymous Ravennas in the county of Devon".

Mr. Gould exhibited a very beautiful reliquary, carved in morse ivory. It is of elegant design and excellent workmanship, and is represented on plate 22, which gives the entire of the box as shown on the front, back, and sides. Its history is unknown, it having been found among a quantity of other things, without any particulars attached to them. On one face (fig. 1) are represented the Holy Lamb and the symbols of the four evangelists, contained within arches. The whole is in arabesque work, including the representation of different animals (see figs. 2, 3, 4), similar to what is commonly seen upon fonts and drawings of the early part of the twelfth century, to which period this box must be assigned. It is remarkable and worthy of notice, that the Norwegian peasants at the present day are in the practice of ornamenting their knife handles with designs of a similar character. It is likely that this reliquary was employed to contain a portion of what was esteemed to be the holy cross.

Mr. Thos. Carlyle, of Albury, communicated to the Association, through Mr. Pettigrew, the following short account of the only church in

Berlin which presents objects of interest to the archæologist,—the church of the Grey Friars in the Kloster Strasse:—

“After being long, although used for public worship, in a state of the most shameful dilapidation, this Gothic church, a structure of brick, was some years ago very beautifully restored by the present king. But as some of its ancient features necessarily disappeared in its renovation, it is worth while to preserve its reminiscences by the help of descriptions given before that event.

“The mendicant Franciscan or Minorite order owes its rise, in 1210, to St. Francis of Assisi; and, in spite of the contempt with which the proposals of its founder were at first received by Innocent III, grew so rapidly, that in 1219 above five thousand deputies from its various religious houses were present at Assisi.

“The dissensions which arose during the life of St. Francis so increased after his death, in 1226, as to give rise to thirty different sections of the order, varying, among other things, in the severity of their rules. One of their punishments, which they performed on the ground of humanity, because “*ecclesia non silit sanguinem*”, was the building up the refractory in a vault. This mode of death got the name of “*In pace*”, from the parting words, “*In pace requiescat*”, with which the victim was left by those who built him up.

“The Franciscans were already, as a body, established before 1250 in Berlin, or rather in the ancient town of Köln, on the river Spree, now embraced in that modern capital. The monastery, and probably the church also, was built in 1271, and restored at different periods. The former was not expressly abolished at the Reformation; but it gradually decayed, till the last monk died in 1571. In that year the building became the abode of the celebrated Leonhard Thurneissen zum Thurn, who, born at Basle in 1530, became, after many wanderings and adventures, physician to the elector of Brandenburg, distinguished himself in the prosecution of science, especially of alchemy, and ultimately died, a disgraced exile, as it is supposed, in Italy or Cologne. The monastery afterwards became a gymnasium. The church is used to the present day.

“The church, composed of chancel, nave, and two nave aisles, is one hundred and sixty-six feet long, sixty-six broad, and fifty high. The chancel, much narrower than the nave and its aisles, thirty-five or forty feet long, and concluded by an apse (it is believed of ten sides), has an altar in the apse, but has probably had also side altars. It contained fifty stalls for the monks. At a considerable height above these ran two inscriptions of the fifteenth century, all round the choir. The upper one, divided into thirty-two sections, and coloured red and black, began at the north side, and described the extent and other particulars of the order. The lower one consisted of one line, seventy-two feet long, in

black letters only, and gave the year of foundation, the names of the founders, and the sum of the provisions and houses of the order throughout the world. The pillars and galleries of the nave are also full of inscriptions, which however possess only local interest.

“On the south or right side of the altar are two tableaux of painting on wood, each divided into two parts, and containing pictures of the apostles. Eleven are there, with their appropriate symbols: such as the cup, sword, club, saw, staff with cross, keys, pilgrim’s staff with beads, staff with blade or banner, axe, lance, and double blade-like scissars. St. Francis himself occupies the place of Judas. His picture is instructive as to the vestments of the time. He wears the long brown-grey monastic coat, without opening at the sides or breast, and drawn on over the head; the *mozette* or *umula* under the chin, and the half-moon like collar, to which the brown grey hood is attached behind. Being no priest he wears no scapular; instead of a girdle, he wears a knotted rope reaching down to the shin; he has no rosary; his sandals are bound with a strap on his bare feet; he holds a crucifix in his right hand, and has the five wounds on his person, a hole being cut in his garment to show that in his side; he has the greater tonsure and a glory.

“The other pictures are the birth of Christ; the visit of the magi; a young man (supposed a Hohenlohe, 1412) at the feet of the scourged and bleeding Christ; all on the right hand. Then on the left, first a large picture of Christ on the cross, surrounded by the most notable of the order down to the fourteenth century (the date of the picture?), with their names on white stripes: St. Francis himself stands under Christ, receiving into his five wounds the blood from those of Christ, with an inscription under him from Rev. vii, as to the angel and the sealed ones, which the order apply to him and themselves; besides his name there are, on the right, Jacobus, Nicolaus, Monaldus, Andreas, Bonaventura, Adolphus, Petrus, Silvester, Johannes, Johannes (de Capistrano?); on the left, Antonius (of Padua?), Richardus, Antonius, Franciscus (Pecinus?), Bernhardus, Philippus, Ludovicus, Rogerius, Conradus, Badius (or Bandinus); Helius and Cœlestinus, the followers of St. Francis, seem to have been excluded on account of their laxity. The picture is probably unique. Then comes a picture in two halves: the upper, Christ scourged; the under, Christ bearing his cross. Then a standing Mary with Jesus. Then, nearer the altar, the taking down from the cross; and then four saints. The taking down is painted with oil, on a chalk ground, on linen glued to the wood. Among the angels above the group one holds the lance, the other the reed and sponge. Below are instruments of crucifixion.

“The pictures on wood in the nave and gallery deserve no remark. The more modern altar-piece, presents Luther between our Lord and John at the supper, holding a Bible, to which he points.

“But the most remarkable features of the church are the carvings in wood and the sculptures. Under the inscriptions in the choir, and above the stalls of the monks, are thirty *alto relievo* carvings on wood, fifteen on each side, each on a shield surrounded with a double circle of ornament, and supported by garlands, arabesques, and volutes, representing the history of our Lord’s sufferings. Beginning at the south side, next the altar:—1. Veronica holding the handkerchief, of which the four parts are in St. Peter’s, Spain, Jerusalem, and Paris. 2. A board with thirty pieces of money. 3. A hand with a burning torch, used at Christ’s seizure. 4. A lantern with which the servants of the high priest sought Him. 5. The heads of Christ and Judas, Judas with a purse on his breast kissing Christ. 6. Two chains or manacles. 7. A sword and a human ear. 8. Pilate’s wife advising him not to harm Christ. 9. A cock upon a pillar. 10. An open palm about to strike. 11. Herod and Pilate friends, with helmet and mitre. 12. A bundle of rods. 13. A scourge of three thongs. 14. A soldier’s mailed hand with a bunch of hair, which tradition says was plucked from our Lord’s head before the crown of thorns was put on (see picture of taking down). 15. A crown of thorns. 16. A sceptre like a St. Andrew’s cross. 17. A stake like **T**, over the bar of which the arms of the scourged were fastened. 18. A head, spitting. 19. Two hands, with ewer above and basin below. 20. A ladder and pole for erecting the cross. 21. A hammer and awl. 22. A rope to tie the hands. 23. Three (not four) nails for hands and feet. 24. The letters **I N R I**. 25. Three bowls for casting lots. 26. Three dice. 27. A sponge on a reed. 28. A lance to pierce. 29. Pincers to draw out the nails. 30. An open chest and cloth for embalming and wrapping the body.

“In other churches the statues are only seven or fourteen. These are almost unique for their number and detail.

“On the right side of the altar is a *presepium* carved in wood on the wall, six feet high and four broad, above four hundred years old, and combining the two usual elements,—the birth in the manger and the adoration, which are generally separate; Joseph sits in a corner, with a Franciscan hood over his head, bowing down to listen; above is a caravan; Nazareth and Bethlehem behind. The whole is shaded by gilded festoons. A similar representation of the lying in the tomb over against this has probably been removed with the side altars.

“On the north side, near the Franciscans, stand two gilded statues, on which has evidently been hinged the altar shrine, and which represent Peter with a closed book and the keys (now broken away), and Andrew with an open book and a branched staff. “*Ora pro nobis*”, often recurring on their vestments, is sometimes spelt “*nopis*”, and once “*aro*”. Another shrine, containing three saints sitting under beautiful baldachins, stands above the more modern sacristy, in the north aisle of the nave.

"The other carvings and sculptures in the nave and gallery demand no especial mention. Christ on the cross, with two other figures, appears on a beam below the choir and the nave.

"In the sacristy is still a goblet-like vessel of brass, with a pointed cover, apparently used for keeping the consecrated wafers. It is six sided, with towers at the corners and medallions on the six sides, representing the birth, scourging, bearing of the cross, death, and resurrection of the Lord."

JUNE 14.

The following Associates were elected :

George Ballard, esq., 37, Lansdowne-place, Brighton.

Walter Francis Robinson, esq., R.M., Junior United Service Club.

Monsieur Maurice Ardant, of Limoges, Archiviste de la Ville de Limoges et du Dep^t. Haute Vienne, Conservateur des Monumens Hist. du Dep^t., etc., was elected an Honorary Foreign Member.

Thanks were voted for the following presents :

J. G. Nichols, esq., F.S.A. The Gentleman's Magazine for April, May, and June. 8vo.

Royal Society. Their Proceedings in continuation. Three Numbers. 8vo.

Archæological Institute. Their Journal. No. XL. 8vo.

Architectural Societies of Northampton, etc. Reports and Papers for 1853. 8vo.

Charles Warne, esq. A model of the Roman amphitheatre at Dorchester, made by Mr. Warne on a scale of one inch to thirty feet.

The rev. S. T. Pettigrew, M.A., exhibited a singular skittle-formed vessel, five and a-half inches high, surmounted by an over-arching handle, and having on the upper part on one side a trumpet-mouthed pipe through which it was filled, and opposite to it a conical spout. The body is engraved all over with large flowers and leaves, and embellished on the sides with four flat-faced bosses, into which are pressed three or four fragments of quartz. It is fabricated of red terra-cotta containing mica, and had originally a glossy surface. The specimen was referred to Mr. H. Syer Cuming, who promised to bring forward a few notes on it and similar vessels at a future meeting.

The rev. Thomas Hugo, M.A., F.S.A., exhibited a portion of an ivory triptych of the period of the fourteenth century, said to have been found last autumn in the excavations in Haydon Square, adjoining those which brought to light the Roman sarcophagus, an account of which has been already furnished to the Society. The fragment is of exquisite workmanship, representing in the upper of two compartments the crucifixion, with the Maries, and below the Virgin enthroned and crowned, with our Saviour seated on her left knee.

Mr. William Meyrick exhibited a very elaborate and most elegantly chased steel key, of German workmanship. It is an official key or badge, having on the top a coronet and cypher on a plate of gold, contained within the figure of a thistle. The whole of the key is drilled and under-filed in the most beautiful manner; and it is to be regretted that its history is unknown, it having been accidentally obtained.

Mr. Gibbs exhibited an interesting though much mutilated figure of an ecclesiastic, carved in slate, found recently near White-row, Whitechapel.

Mr. Pratt exhibited two specimens of chain-mail, a gauntlet and a leg-piece. The rings were interlaced, but not riveted. The gauntlet was highly curious as an illustration of the truth of the monumental sculptures. It had often been doubted whether the rings had only covered the back of the hands; but this specimen showed that both the back and the palms, or inside of the hands, were equally protected, as some of the best antiquaries had supposed from the absence of any apparent lining to the gauntlet. The firmness of the grip obtained by this arrangement was truly remarkable.

Mr. J. Clarke exhibited some coins of Charles II, and medals of Charles I, the former found at Earlsham, the latter obtained from Halesworth.

A paper on English helmets of the twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries, by Mr. Planché, was then read. See *ante*, pp. 137-141.

The following papers, by Mr. Thos. Gunston and Mr. H. Syer Cuming, on the late discoveries in New Cannon-street, were then read:

“During the spring of 1852 a series of excavations was carrying on for the purpose of erecting new buildings on the south side of Watling-street, near Walbrook. Upon the removal of the *débris* from houses just demolished, a variety of fragments was found, principally of bellarmines, early earthenware, and glass vessels. At about eight feet from the surface the workmen came upon two walls, four feet wide, running from east to west, and varying in height from three to ten feet, composed of large stones and square pieces of chalk roughly hewn; also a circular shaft, of the same material, similar to that discovered beneath the present Coal Exchange. The site indicates that these fragments belonged to the ancient mansion known as *La Real* or *Tower Royal*, an edifice of great magnitude, and the scene of many remarkable events during the reign of the Plantagenets,—its ancient consequence being still preserved in the name of a small street close by.

“When the excavations had reached the depth of twelve feet, considerable Roman remains were exposed, consisting of walls three feet thick, built of Kentish rag, chalk, and bonding tiles; their foundation being laid upon wooden piles driven into the earth, which was very moist and black. A little to the west of these walls, about twenty feet of plain tessellated pavement was discovered, made of inch red tesserae, embedded in cement, under which was a thick concrete of lime, sand, and pounded

brick. At a distance of sixty feet, due north, from the frontage stood three piers, six feet apart, formed of the ordinary tiles, measuring fourteen inches and a half by eleven. At the bottom of a deep trench, at the north-east end, a human skeleton was found, in a good state of preservation, lying east and west, accompanied by nails from two to seven inches long. Interspersed with the soil was a quantity of fragments, composed of red and striped stucco, scored flue-tiles, roofing slates, flanged tiles, stone mouldings, and broken pottery; the only exception being a plain terra-cotta lamp, two inches and a half in diameter; a small urn-shaped vessel, and a globular pot. The most important fragments were necks and other portions of various sized amphoræ and ampullæ, strongly made, the clay, in several instances, containing mica; portions of mortaria; rims of at least twenty were found, ranging from nine to eighteen inches in diameter. Some of the specimens are of a light colour, slightly studded in the interior with small siliceous stones and iron scoria.

"The Samian ware consists of pateræ and various other vessels, adorned with animals, foliage, gladiators, and the characteristic festoon and tassel moulding arranged with great elegance. There are also numerous pieces of a fine red ware, approaching Samian; some having the pattern pressed in, others ornamented with a white scroll. Of the varieties, some have a fine metallic surface covered with small raised points; others are of a dark colour, with ornamental surface lines: one piece has the pattern painted in red, on a buff ground; and the remaining portions of urns are made of sand, clay, and shells. The glass specimens are very few in number. Animal remains were also met with, composed chiefly of horns, with part of the skull attached, of a short-horned ox; of the stag, sheep, and goat; bones of the ox; jaws, teeth, and tusks of hogs, and a number of small bones of rabbits, chickens, etc., also many oyster and mussel shells. Judging by the relics this must have been a villa of some extent; but it was not possible to make any actual survey, the course of excavation requiring parallel and cross trenches only.—T. GUNSTON."

"To Mr. Gunston's accurate account of the discoveries in New Cannon-street, I beg to append a few remarks upon the specimens brought before us. Though the examples of glass are few in number, they are not without interest. We find among them part of the edge and bottom of a flat circular *lanx*, or more properly a *lancula*, of the most delicate fabric, which, when entire, must have measured about seven inches and a quarter in diameter, and half an inch in depth; a small fragment of the side of an upright vessel, the surface beautifully moulded with forms resembling serpent scales; part of the side of what would appear to have been a *sinum*, or wine-bowl, measuring about four inches and a half in diameter, moulded from the edge downwards, with slightly projecting ribs; and the conical foot of a vessel, decorated with a band of silvery-white leaves,

which seem to be embedded in the middle of the glass, and surrounded with a broad, flat, hollow base about three inches and five-eighths in diameter. A specimen very like this one in form, but of green glass, was exhumed in Nicholas-lane, Lombard-street, in 1846. All these fragments are of exceedingly thin, white, transparent glass; but the collection contains several examples of the light bluish-green *vitrea*, the most perfect being the circular base of a cup two inches and a-quarter diameter. And there is also the mouth and neck of a large *ampulla*, of rather coarse green glass, approaching both in colour and quality to that met with in Saxon interments.

“Of the remains of vessels of terra-cotta the varieties are numerous, both as regards form and fabric. There are a considerable number of fragments of *olla*, *poecula*, etc., of the fine greyish-black Upchurch pottery;—some plain; some with their surfaces indented and scored with dots; trellis and chevron patterns; others with projecting dots arranged in regular lines. Several fragments also occur of a much coarser ware. As two examples among many, we may instance the half of a conical *operculum*, or cover, of grey earth, and part of an *olla* of a black colour. Several short cylindric spouts of vessels, of exceedingly coarse manufacture, were also discovered; one of which is now exhibited. A few pieces were met with of light thin vessels, having a deep brown glossy metallic surface, the products of the Northampton potteries; and also a *lucerna*, or lamp, apparently from the same district. From among many fragments we may single out a small portion of the upper part of a *poeculum*, the surface of a light orange-buff colour, with a red pattern on it; a similar ware to that figured in the *Journal* (vi, plate 7, p. 64). The majority of the fragments, however, discovered in this locality consist of mouths and necks of various sized *gutternii*, of which special mention may be made of a very large one of strong light-coloured terra-cotta, upwards of five inches and a-half diameter at the lip; of another of brick-red earth coated with white; and of a third specimen having the lip pinched together, so that the water would flow out in a small stream.

“Several parts of large *amphoræ* were also exhumed. The mouth of one measures upwards of six inches and a-quarter diameter; and part of the side of apparently the same vessel, having the remains of the handle, shows that it was of great thickness, and of a belled form. There is also the broad strait handle of an upright *amphora*, and two bases of smaller examples: the one of red, the other of white earth.

“We may draw attention to part of the mouth and side of a *dolium*, of coarse and massive fabric, the upper part decorated with a band of indentations, somewhat resembling the ornamentation seen upon Celtic pottery; and likewise to part of the rim and side of a large vessel, also apparently a *dolium*, having the letters *sx* or *sm* scored upon the surface whilst the clay was in a moist state, and embellished with a single row

of incuse dots. It is of the same rough and heavy fabric as the other specimen.

"A good many pieces of shallow circular straight-sided pans, with nearly flat rims, were found; and fragments also of small *tympani* of coarse grey ware, and of a light stone colour, similar to those engraved in the *Journal* (vi, p. 62, and vii, p. 109). Of a neater fabric is the remains of the rim and side of a *patina*, or bowl, of brownish-red terracotta, containing mica.

"Two of the fragments of *mortaria* bear the names ALBINVS and AVAVS F, the latter being an addition to our list of Roman potters. A third specimen is interesting, as having its inner surface, even to the very rim, thickly studded with small bits of silex.

"Though almost every vessel discovered during the excavations was more or less fractured, three specimens fortunately escaped injury, and it is remarkable that two out of the three are exceedingly rare types, namely, the elegant vase-shaped unguent pot, of bright red earth, two inches and three-eighths high; and the small globose vessel, with circular mouth and small loop-handle on one side, of grey terracotta, the use of which vessel is by no means certain; the third specimen is the *lucerna* already alluded to.

"Some of the fragments of Samian ware deserve attention. Among them is part of an elegant shaped *patera*, stamped with the name ALBVCI. Of the embossed kind we have the side of a *sinum*, or wine bowl, bearing in one compartment a bull, with its head lowered as if in the act of tossing some object, and in another a draped figure of a dancing girl, holding in each hand the *crusmata* or castanets; another fragment of a *sinum* has on it a gladiatorial combat, closely resembling in design the one engraved in the *Journal* (iv, p. 8); and a third bears an equestrian figure galloping over a prostrate foe, recalling to our minds the reverses of some of the coins of the later Roman empire. One piece exhibits a rough-necked dog; another a couchant hare; a third a male figure curiously habited in a striped or fluted long-sleeved garment, reaching a little below the hips: he holds either a club or paddle cross-ways before him, and above are the remains of the feet of some animal. There is also part of a *mortarium*, the inside studded with small bits of silex, and the lower part of the outside decorated with rings.

"Besides the examples of what are commonly called Samian ware there are pieces of fine red ware, destitute of the bright glossy surface, but evidently made in imitation of the first-named variety. Among them is the base of a *sinum* or *olla*; a fragment of a *mortarium*, with silex imbedded in its interior; part of the edge and upright side of an *Acrotophorum* (?), impressed with a square and shell pattern; and the remains of a very thick *catillus*, the outside surrounded by a band of waved lines. Another example of this ware is decorated with white scrolls, painted as

it were upon the surface, and bordered above and below with a simple incuse pattern. This variety of painted red-ware is not often met with, but specimens of it will be seen figured in the *Journal* (iii, p. 328, and vi, 60); and an exceedingly curious fragment of the rim of a *mortarium* was found, in 1849, in Warnford Court, Throgmorton Street, which bore a white pattern of a very unusual character, somewhat resembling Arabic letters.

"Few vessels but those of fictile ware have hitherto been met with among the ruins of Roman London; but Mr. Gunston has succeeded in rescuing a fragment of one which is wrought of white calcarious stone. It must have formed part of a rather shallow vessel, and, judging from its conic form, may probably be from the side of the drinking cup termed *obba*.

"With these reliquiæ, were also found part of a bone *stylus*, broad and flat at the upper extremity, for the purpose of smoothing the waxen surfaces of the *tabula* and *pugillares*; pieces of two *cotes*, or stones for sharpening tools; and what would seem to be the remains of a child's *crepida*, or sandal of leather.

"Of the *domus* or villa, itself, we have a few interesting memorials; such as the stucco from its walls, covered with red pigment; a large fragment of a square flue-pipe from the hypocaust, its surface impressed with a chevron pattern; a flat piece of fine-grained sandstone, which probably formed part of a *tegula*, or roofing tile;¹ the remains of a strong iron bar; and fluted mouldings wrought of Purbeck marble.

"The burial of a deceased person so near a Roman villa is certainly a curious, but not altogether unique, circumstance.² That the body was originally contained in a *loculus*, or coffin of wood, is evident from the iron nails which accompanied the remains; we may therefore conclude that this was not a mere hasty inhumation for the sake of concealment, but a regular interment. The bones obtained by Mr. Gunston consist of the eleventh dorsal, and first and second lumbar vertebræ. The teeth are reported to have been in a high state of preservation. The iron *clavi* from the *loculus* resemble those commonly met with in similar situations, having flat heads and four-sided spikes.

"The quantity of animal remains discovered with these vestiges of Roman occupation, is also a point worthy of note. Those which Mr. Gunston has brought before us, consist of part of the lower jaw of the boar, the left half of the lower jaw of a large deer, the frontal bone with horn-cores of the short-horned ox, the horn-core of a rather large sheep, and the frontal bone with horn-cores of the goat. The remains of the last named animal are by no means common in London, but we may instance their discovery in Lothbury in 1844.

¹ For mention of the discovery of stone roofing in the ruins of Roman villas, see *Journal*, iv, 367, and vi, 67.

² See *Journal*, iv, 67; vi, 448; and vii, 108.

"Great praise is due to Mr. Gunston for having so carefully watched and chronicled the discoveries made in New Cannon Street; and it is much to be regretted that many Roman villas have been found in London of which there is little or no record. So far as I can learn, no mention has yet appeared of the remains of one met with towards the close of the year 1848, in Little St. Thomas Apostle. In excavating for a sewer, the workmen brought to light the remains of massive walls of chalk; stone and flat bricks; stucco with red and green frescoes; drain tiles and *tegule* of red and yellow terra-cotta; broken flue-pipes, their ends ornamented with rhombic pattern, like the one figured in the *Journal* (iv, p. 47); part of a *mola manuaria*, or hand mill, of Andernach lava; numerous examples of plain and embossed Samian ware; fragments of enormous *amphore*; necks of *gutterni*; *patere* of rather coarse red ware; *olle* of Upchurch pottery; and various sized *mortaria*, one measuring sixteen inches in diameter. Great quantities of the shells of oysters and the edible mussel were also met with, as well as an immense accumulation of the horn-cores of oxen and sheep; and I was informed by one who narrowly watched the excavation, that many truck loads of these osseous remains were carried away from the spot. At the depth of sixteen feet from the surface of the street, a considerable quantity of *charred wood* and *ashes* were found; and similar traces of some great conflagration were noticed in cutting a sewer from Dowgate through Walbrook in 1774,¹ in Lombard Street in 1786,² and in Eastcheap and Crooked Lane in making the northern approaches to the new London Bridge.³ And it has been conjectured, with a fair show of probability, that these ashes are the *débris* of the city, sacked and destroyed by the infuriated Britons in revenge for the outrage offered to the brave queen of the Iceni—the beautiful and ill-fated Boadicea.—H. SYER CUMING."

A discussion on these papers concluded the business of the evening, and terminated the meetings for the session. The rev. Mr. Hugo lamented the want of a map showing the discoveries *in situ* of suburbs of Roman London, and Mr. Vere Irving stated some objections to the application of the word villa as describing the common residences in Roman towns. Mr. White observed that Mr. Taylor correctly supposed Roman London only to have extended westward to Walbrook. This villa was suburban. In all Roman cities there were suburbs in which the Britons mixed with the Roman soldiery. The Tower Royal was a place of great strength in the times of the Plantagenets, and ranked with the Tower itself. It was a curious question about the Watling Street which runs north of Tower Royal. He never had believed that this Watling Street could have had any connexion with the great north-west road

¹ Gough's *Camden's Britannia*, ii, 15.

² *Archæologia*, viii, 132.

³ *Ib.*, xxiv, 192.

called Watling Street. It was extremely desirable to know whether the skeleton was discovered above or below the other animal remains. [Mr. Gunston stated that it was below.] All discoveries west of Walbrook were most interesting, and demanded great attention. To the west of Walbrook was a suburb, which in early times formed a large town, and was full of manufactures. Here was made the cloth which supplied a large part of the kingdom. The east of Walbrook was always known to have been the great Roman city, but the suburbs to the west were not so well known. He thought that the present Watling Street formed the great highway to the Tower Royal. It may be less honour to Londoners to be told that London was not the large Roman city it had been supposed, but truth demanded that we should not conceal that point.

At the conclusion of the meeting it was announced that the ELEVENTH ANNUAL CONGRESS would be held at Chepstow, in the month of August, commencing on the 21st, and terminating on the 26th. Excursions to visit as many of the castles and abbeys of the neighbourhood as possible, were in the course of preparation; and papers were requested to be communicated in illustration of them, and of the antiquities of the locality.

The treasurer reported the following subscriptions to the Donation Fund, in addition to those already acknowledged. (See pp. 119, 120, *ante*.)

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
J. Lee, LL.D., <i>Vice-President</i>	5	0	0	W. D. Saull, esq.	1	1	0
John Mather, esq.	5	0	0	William Ewing, esq.	1	1	0
Charles Warne, esq.	3	0	0	Major Sheppard	1	1	0
J. Watts Russell, esq., D.C.L.	2	2	0	Thomas Gunston, esq.	1	1	0
Pudsey Dawson, esq.	2	2	0	Rev. J. Beale Poste	1	1	0
Thomas Wakeman, esq.	2	2	0	J. R. Jobbins, esq.	1	1	0
Eleazar Lawrence, esq.	2	2	0	William Rutter, esq.	1	1	0
William Yewd, esq.	2	2	0	W. D. Haggard, esq.	1	1	0
William Newton, esq.	2	2	0	J. Huxtable, esq.	1	1	0
J. O. Halliwell, esq.	2	2	0	Henry Lawes Long, esq.	1	0	0
C. T. Swanston, esq.	2	2	0	A. St. John Baker, esq.	1	0	0
J. C. White, esq.	2	0	0	John Barrow, esq.	1	0	0
James Heywood, esq.	2	0	0	Christopher Lynch, esq.	1	0	0
Joseph Mayer, esq.	2	0	0	James Clarke, esq.	0	10	0

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INTRODUCTORY DISCOURSE DELIVERED AT THE CHEPSTOW CONGRESS.

BY T. J. PETTIGREW, ESQ., F.R.S., F.S.A., VICE-PRESIDENT
AND TREASURER OF THE ASSOCIATION.

I HAVE to regret the unavoidable absence of the president¹ of our Association, and also that of others, who, from the pressure of imperative engagements, and by demands for the preservation of their health, are unable to be with us at this Congress, but whose disposition towards our welfare continues with undiminished kindness. Under these circumstances I have, though in a very hurried manner, arranged a few observations with regard to our meeting; and I venture confidently to express my hope that, in a district so fertile in interesting objects of antiquity, our investigations may be conducted with success.

We have now arrived at the ELEVENTH ANNUAL CONGRESS, the first meeting of the kind having been held in the month of September, 1844, at Canterbury. A congress for archæological pursuits was then an experiment: it is now no longer such. I well recollect the doubts which hung over the first meeting; I remember the great hesitation on the part of many, who are now among the foremost to promote such congresses, not merely to appear on the occasion, but even to permit their names to be published as supporters of such a design. It is, however, a

¹ Ralph Bernal, esq., M.A., whose deeply lamented decease occurred on Saturday the 26th of August, the last day of the Chepstow Congress.

matter of great congratulation to all those who did take part, and exert themselves in leading the way, to look back upon and review, not only the change of opinion entertained on the subject, but also to reflect upon the abundant stores of antiquarian information which the congresses have afforded. However much the dissensions which so early sprang up in our body, and which ultimately produced a separation into two societies, may be lamented, it is not unlikely that such differences may have led to the exercise of greater zeal in antiquarian research, and by the introduction of more labourers into the field, and multiplying the localities of investigation, thus have contributed a larger amount of information to the antiquary than would otherwise have been obtained. Happily these dissensions are at end, and the Association and the Institute entertaining amicable relations towards each other, we can pursue our researches without exciting envy or jealousy, or offering impediments to the progress of the legitimate objects for which we were instituted.

The history of archæological congresses is that of a very recent period. It belongs to this century; it originated with our Gallic neighbours; and our foreign associate, Mons. De Caumont, the founder of the Society for the Conservation of Historical Monuments in France, has the glory of having first led the way, in Normandy, in the year 1834. The experiment once made, and the fruits likely to be reaped by such investigations rendered apparent, led a few, a very few, individuals here to entertain the idea of imitating the example, and applying it to this country; and in the short period in which archæological bodies of this description have been established, there have been visited by the Association and the Institute,—not to mention the annual meetings of many local societies,—Canterbury, Winchester, Gloucester, Worcester, Chester, Warwick, Derby, Newark, Manchester and Lancaster, Rochester, Norwich, Lincoln, York, Chichester, Salisbury, Bristol, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Oxford, and Cambridge. Either by the means of separate volumes, or in the pages of the quarterly journals of these societies, various dissertations and illustrations have been made available to the antiquary and to the public, which, but for the establishment of such institutions, it is probable would have never seen the light. We

must also recollect that it has not only been by the aid of congresses this instructive progress has been made; for the activity and zeal of those who had connected themselves together in bodies for the purpose of antiquarian research, have alike been active by the establishment of correspondents in different parts of the country, to seek out what had been hitherto unobserved, and to record the existence of antiquities over almost every part of the United Kingdom. This research has effected another and a most important benefit, in giving a value to early remains, in begetting a spirit of inquiry to illustrate their history, and, in proportion to the degree excited, a correspondent desire to assist in their preservation. We are thus truly a band of *conservatives*; and there is little reason to doubt that the known existence of such bodies, always on the look-out to observe, and ready to step in, when necessary, to check the progress of wanton demolition, has had a powerful effect in preserving many valuable relics of antiquity, and furnished aids of illustration to the present and future historian. On these and other advantages arising from the establishment of archæological societies, I have, however, on so many occasions addressed you,¹ that I may safely quit the subject, and pass on to the consideration of the more immediate object of our present meeting.

There is, I believe, no part of the country to which we could direct our inquiries with greater propriety, or obtain a more ample supply of subjects for consideration, than is afforded by this neighbourhood. A glance at our programme is sufficient to confirm this opinion. What an assemblage of interesting objects are here to be found for the contemplation of the historian, the antiquary, and the architect! The number of castles, and abbeys, and churches, not to mention the Roman stations and encampments which surround us on all sides, call for a much longer period than we, in this busy world, with our multifarious pursuits, can afford to give to such an inquiry; but we must not fail to remember that the superficial view which we now take necessarily leads to future research, and that each of us, viewing the subject according to our own inclination,

¹ See Transactions at the second Congress, held at Winchester in 1845, pp. 1-15; at Gloucester, in 1846, pp. 1-15; and Journals of the Association, vol. ii, pp. 370-374; iii, pp. 134-142; vi, pp. 163-177; vii, pp. 309-314.

or the direction of our own particular studies, and applying it to our own purposes, gives to the journals of the Association the benefit of more special and intimate inquiry; and thus, through the medium of the press, calls forth the exertions of others. Our examinations at the congresses are, therefore, rather to be looked upon in the light of a means of collecting together information, than as contributing satisfactory elucidation at the time.

MONMOUTHSHIRE unites in itself Welsh and English antiquities. It may be considered as a county belonging both to England and Wales, and was not classed among those of England until the time of Henry VIII, upon the abolition of the government of the lords marchers, and the arrangement of Wales into twelve shires.

The position of Monmouthshire may account for the great number of its castles, the remains of several of which are to be found to this day. They formed the points of protection and defence betwixt the English and Welsh, from the time of the Normans, who built them along the banks of the Monnow, the Wye, and the Severn. Some of these will form objects for our attention during this Congress; and we may perhaps be disposed to agree in what has been expressed by two local antiquaries, Mr. Octavius Morgan and Mr. Wakeman, that no castles are to be found in Wales which date beyond the time of the Normans.

This county forms part of three dioceses, those of Llandaff, St. David's, and Hereford. Belonging to the former of these is the ancient episcopal palace at Matherne, now a farmhouse, but still retaining some peculiarities of its pristine condition worthy of our notice. Leland¹ styles it "a preaty pyle in Base Venteland, longging to the bisshop of Llandafe". It has not been the habitation of a bishop since the time of William Beaw, who died in 1706. Its construction was effected by different bishops. The manor was given to the see by Maurice, king of Glamorganshire, in the sixth century. He was the son of the martyr Theodoric, who was buried in the church. Bishop Godwin repaired his tomb, and composed an epitaph for him, which was placed on the north side of the chancel, and reads thus:—

¹ Itin. v., fol. 6.

“ Here lyeth intombd the body of
 Theodorick, king of Morganuch or
 Glamorgan, commonly called
 St. Thewdrick, and accounted a martyr,
 because he was slain in a battle against
 the Saxons, being then Pagans, and in
 defence of the Christian religion. The
 battle was fought at Tintern, where he
 obtained a great victory. He died here,
 being in his way homeward, three
 days after the battle, having taken
 order with Maurice, his son, who suc-
 ceeded him in the kingdom, that in the
 same place he should happen to decease, a
 church should be built, and his body buri-
 ed in y^e same, which was accordingly performed
 in the year 600.”

When that eminent and discerning antiquary, the late sir Richard Colt Hoare, bart., visited the county, accompanied by the rev. Mr. Coxe, Matherne palace still retained some remains of its ancient grandeur, and there were yet to be seen a few worm-eaten volumes of the ancient fathers, despoiled of their covers and mouldering into dust. Although this dates no further back than the close of the last century, it is possible we may not have the mournful gratification of viewing these even in their extreme state of dilapidation. Although Theodoric died in the sixth century, and the church, according to his direction, was piously erected by his son in the first year of the seventh century, we are not to expect to see any building belonging to that period. The church has been so long and so frequently altered and repaired, that we may perhaps find some difficulty in assigning to it its æra of construction: this, however, is a point I leave for the consideration of our architects. Mr. Freeman, a very competent authority, whose presence at this Congress I hail with peculiar satisfaction, has described it as presenting Early English and Perpendicular work of some value.¹ Several of the bishops of Llandaff have been entombed in it, among which may be mentioned the first Welshman appointed to the see, Hugh Jones, who died in 1574. In Godwin's *Lives of the*

¹ In the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, vol. ii, p. 106, New Series.



Bishops their names will be found recorded ; but I must not omit to state that, among these occurs one of great celebrity, by his most singular conduct. Anthony Kitchin, better known by the name of Dunstan, was a Minorite friar, living in the reigns of Henry VIII and Elizabeth, and therefore not to be confounded with another of the name living in the tenth century, and exercising almost unbounded sway in the courts of Athelstan and Edmund, and the account of whose reported conflict with the Devil is known to every one. Sir John Harrington¹ indulges his propensity to pun upon the name of the bishop of Llandaff, and justly reproaches him for his waste of the treasures of the see. He says:—

“It is doubtlesse a wonderfull antiquity that my authour produced of Llandaff, that it possessed Christianity, and had a church for religion, in the year of 180. But, alas, for a man to boast of great nobility, and goe in ragged clothes, and a church to be praised for great antiquity, and make ruinous shoves, is in mine opinion, according to the vulgar proverbe, *a great boast, and a small roast*. But by this author’s relation it appears this *roast* was so marred by an ill *cooke*, as by a worse *Kitchen*; for in the year 1545, being the 37 yeare of Henry the Eighth, doctor *Kitchen* being made, of an idle abbot, a busic bishop, and wading through those hazardous times that ensued till the first yeare of queen Elizabeth, to save himself was content to *spoil* his bishoprick : Satan having in those dayes more care to sift the bishopricks than the bishops ; else how was it possible for a man of that ranke to sing *Cantate Domino canticum novum* four times in fourteen yeeres, and never sing out of tune, if he had not loved the *kitchen* better than the church. Howbeit, though he might seeme, for name sake, to favour the *kitchen*, yet in *spoyling* that see he was as little friend to the *kitchen* as the rest, spoyling the woods and good provisions that should have warmed it ; which gave occasion to Dr. Babbington, now bishop of Worcester, to call it *Aph* without land, and Dr. Morgan after to remove to St. Asaph, from thence, not from name sake, but for his owne name sake, that is, *More-gaine*.”

MOINESCORUT, Moynescourt, or Monks’ Court, close to Matherne, is worthy of a visit. It was probably formerly a religious house. The gateway is of greater antiquity than the other parts of the building. To the Roman antiquary this place is interesting, as in the walls which inclose the court-yard are two inscriptions which, according to bishop Gibson in his additions to the *Britannia* of

¹ Nuge Antique, vol. i, p. 191.

Camden, were removed from Caerleon. One of these records the restoration of the temple of Diana by T. Fl. Postumus Varus, the other belonged to a votive altar dedicated to the emperor Severus and his two sons Caracalla and Geta Cæsar, having been, in the opinion of Mr. Coxe, crased after his assassination.

Monmouthshire is known at the time of the Roman invasion as part of the territory inhabited by the Silures. Caerwent formed a Roman station and is known as the *Venta Silurum* and formed the capital, whilst Caerleon constituted the *Isca Silurum*. The Romans occupied the county from the time of Vespasian to their evacuation of Britain A.D. 408, being a period of 330 years. The conflicts which followed between the petty sovereigns who ruled over their several portions of territory, and with the northern tribes, are subjects still unsatisfactorily treated of by historians and will most likely remain in obscurity. Some points have, however, received light from recent researches, and I have pleasure in directing your attention on this occasion to a paper from our learned associate the rev. Beale Poste, *On the Territories of Vortigern, the Ancient British King, on the Wye and in the South of Wales*.

In speaking of the early history of this county, the name of Geoffrey of Monmouth will doubtless occur to you. His stories are generally regarded as fabulous. The study he is said to have occupied is still at Monmouth, but it belongs to a much later period than that in which this extraordinary man lived.

It is doubtful whether the whole of Monmouthshire was conquered by the Saxons; historians are at issue upon this point, though the *Saxon Chronicle* seems to support the opinion by asserting that the kings of England subdued *all* Wales, took hostages, and levied tribute. Harold penetrated into the county with a numerous army and defeated Griffith, sovereign of North Wales, gave a prince to South Wales, and built a palace at Portscuit. The native writers of Monmouthshire, however, boast that their county was subjected only to Roman dominion and not subdued by Saxons, Danes, or early Normans; and Rogers, the author of the *Secret Memoirs of Monmouthshire*, supports this in some verses which, as Mr. Coxe says, "prove his patriotism rather than his taste":

“To thee, brave Gwent! praise doth alone belong;
 Thou ne’er wor’st chains, impatient wer’t of wrong:
 When Saxons, Danes, and Normans, Britain sway’d,
 Thou scorn’st the servile yoke on others laid;
 With courage great most bravely didst maintain
 Thy rights, so long enjoy’d,—may they remain,” etc.

In these lines it will be observed the people are addressed as brave Gwent. The Gwentian forms one of the three Welsh dialects spoken chiefly in this county.

Most of the places selected for our visits during this congress were occupied by the Saxons, a circumstance necessary to be borne in mind in the examination of their antiquities. The Normans retained the places formerly held by the Saxons, and to them chiefly must be attributed the strong fortresses, the remains of which continue to this day. Pennant asserts that there were no less than 143 castles in Wales, of which Monmouthshire had a very large number, as the remains of nearly thirty may still be observed.

The traces of Roman occupation in Monmouthshire are various. Besides the capital and stations already alluded to, there are the remains of various forts and encampments, of which a very succinet notice may be found in Mr. Coxe’s history of the county, and drawings from surveys made by Mr. Morrice. I must confine myself to the mention only of those places and positions to which we are to direct our attention on this occasion; the present slight notice is therefore to be considered as limited to that view, and not as an attempt to give any general historical summary of particulars relating to the county.

CAERLEON,¹ the *Isca Silurum*, CAERWENT, the *Venta Silurum*, and USK, *Burrium*, are those which will occupy us in our intended peregrinations. Caerleon is the first to claim our attention. Mr. Jas. Edw. Lee, a resident in, but not a native of, Monmouthshire, has rendered good

¹ *Caer*, the British word for a camp or a fortified city; *leon*, a corruption of *legionum*, a legion, or of legions. Henry of Huntingdon writes it *Kairlegion*; so also Giraldus, and Bede uses the same. Owen, a celebrated Welsh scholar, referred to by Coxe, spells Caerleon thus:—*Caer-llion*, which he makes City of the Waters, exceedingly applicable to this place, as it stood surrounded by the Usk and its streams. *Llion* is the plural of *lli*, a stream. Walters derives Caerleon from *Lleon*, an ancient British king, its founder, son of Brût Darian Lâs, the eighth king of Britain.

service to the study of antiquities by his two works,¹ published in 1845 and 1850, on antiquities found at this Roman station, and to these publications I beg to direct your attention. But Mr. Lee's labours have not been confined simply to these works; he has also established an archæological association at this spot, and materially aided the laudable endeavours of sir Digby Mackworth, bart., in the establishment of a museum for the deposit of antiquities found in the neighbourhood. Nothing can be more serviceable to the illustration of history than the establishment of such repositories in connexion with the local societies, and I most heartily wish I could offer congratulations upon the greater success of the design; but although much has been done of late years to promote a taste for archæological pursuits, it must be admitted, that those efforts have not yet proved sufficiently exciting to command any powerful support from those upon the spot, who may reasonably be supposed to be most deeply interested in the welfare of such institutions. In connexion with the Caerleon Antiquarian Association, however, I have great pleasure in noticing a recent publication² which I recommend to the attention of our members, giving an account of the history and architecture of Caldicot Castle, printed for the benefit of the society, from the pen of our respected associate Mr. Wakeman, from whose services in this congress we shall derive great instruction, and of Mr. Octavius Morgan, an excellent antiquary, of whose zeal in the pursuit of a knowledge of antiquities I have enjoyed ample opportunities to enable me to bear witness; and of whose information the pages alluded to, as well as others in the *Archæologia*, sufficiently testify. I deeply regret the absence of that gentleman from our meeting, in the county of which he is one of the representatives, this day; but the interest he takes in our pursuits, and in the examination of the antiquities of his native place, is shewn by the record of his name in the list of vice-presidents, and we may very fairly excuse his absence, for after so long a par-

¹ Delineations of Roman Antiquities found at Caerleon and the Neighbourhood: Lond., 1845, 4to., 27 plates.—Description of a Roman Building, and other Remains, lately discovered at Caerleon: Lond., 1850, 8vo., 18 plates and 2 plans.

² Notes on the Architecture and History of Caldicot Castle, Monmouthshire, by Octavius Morgan, esq., M.P., F.R.S., F.S.A., and Thomas Wakeman, esq. Caerleon, 1854; 8vo., 12 plates.

liamentary session and the discussion of such grave subjects, the aid of sea breezes must be necessary to recruit the frame, and claim attention prior to antiquarian research, being indeed necessary to insure that health which is requisite to the maintenance of such inquiries.

But to return to CAERLEON, the “City of the Legions”, according to some authorities, the “City of the Waters”, according to others, the *Isca Silurum*, the residence of the second Augustan legion,¹ situated on the right bank of the Usk, which was formerly a great Roman city. Many Roman antiquities have here been found, and some of these are deposited in the Caerleon museum, which, under the guidance of Mr. J. E. Lee, we shall have the gratification of inspecting. If we are to credit the report of Giraldus Cambrensis, who gives a brilliant account of the ruins of Caerleon in the twelfth century, it must have formed one of the most imposing Roman stations in the country. He says—

“Many remains of its former magnificence are still visible; splendid palaces which once emulated, with their gilded roofs, the grandeur of Rome,—for it was originally built by the Roman princes, and adorned with stately edifices; a gigantic tower, numerous baths, ruins of temples, and a theatre, the walls of which are partly standing. Here we still see, both within and without the walls, subterraneous buildings, aqueducts, and vaulted taverns; and, what appeared to me most remarkable, stoves so excellently contrived as to diffuse their heat through imperceptible pores.”²

It cannot be expected that during seven additional centuries Caerleon should not have suffered further deterioration nor escaped destruction. Such has been the case, and at the present time little more than remnants of

¹ In the Iter of Antonine it is called ISCE LEGVA AVGVSTI (Isca legionis secundæ Auguste). It was also styled Isca Augusta, and, as above mentioned, Isca Silurum. Isca is regarded as the British word *Wysg*, having a Roman termination, and signifies the situation of a place on the banks of a stream. It is still preserved in the name of Usk, the river on which Caerleon is situated.

² “Videas hic multa pristinae nobilitatis adhuc vestigia: palatia immensa aureis olim tectorum fastidiis Romanos fastus imitantia, eo quod à Romanis principibus primo constructa, et ædificiis egregiis illustrata fuissent: turrim giganteam, thermas insignes, templorum reliquias, et loca theatralia muris egregiis partim adhuc extantibus, omnia clausa. Reperies ubique tam intra murorum ambitum, quam extra, ædificia subterranea, aquarum ductus, hypogeosque meatus. Et quod inter alia notabile censui, stuphas undique videas miro artificio consertas, lateralibus quibusdam à præangustis spiraculi viis occulte calorem exhalantibus.”—*Itin. Camb.*, lib. i, cap. 5.

walls and the excavations of the amphitheatre are to be seen. The former, however, give to us the magnitude of the place and its shape. This was admirably traced by Mr. Coxe, and a plan made by Mr. Morrice, which will be found in the *Historical Tour in Monmouthshire*. In shape it was oblong, inclining to a square, and presented a circumference of about 1800 yards. At the south angle the walls at present stand about fourteen feet in height, which is much below what must have been their original altitude, and in thickness they are eleven or twelve feet.

Caerleon occurs in the Itinerary of Antonine. Horsley gives it to the reign of Antoninus Pius, an opinion confirmed by the antiquities that have been discovered. Richard of Cirencester affirms it to have been a Roman colony, and the primary station in the country of the Silures. The site of the amphitheatre is commonly known as Arthur's Round Table, a ridiculous cognomen.¹ From the remains discovered in the suburbs they are supposed to have been of considerable extent, and to have occupied both sides of the river Usk. Tradition ascribes to them a circumference of not less than nine miles.

In no part of Caerleon, either within the walls or in the suburbs, has any excavation been made without meeting with some Roman remains. Many persons in the neighbourhood, as well as the museum, have collections of coins, and Mr. Lee has given a catalogue, drawn up by the rev. C. W. King, of Trin. Coll., Camb., of some belonging to T. C. Hooper, esq., the owner of the priory estate, though now a resident at Bath, and of others in the possession of Mrs. Pritchard, Mr. J. Jenkins, jun., Mr. W. Jenkins, of some found in the priory grounds, and in his own collection at Cambridge found at Caerleon. (*Delineations, etc.*, pp. 43-50). Mr. Lee has copied (pp. 51-54) thirteen inscriptions found at Caerleon, from Gough's *Camden*, Horsley's *Britannia Romana*, Gale's *Iter Antonin.*, and Coxe's *Historical Tour*. He has also added eighteen others, the principal of which were found at Bulmore in 1815. Eight of these, bearing reference to soldiers of the second legion, were enclosed in a tomb, seven of which were turned with their letters downwards. Bones, which had

¹ The amphitheatre was in the field to the left of the Broadway, without the walls, and can be distinctly traced.

undergone cremation, were lying upon the stones and throughout the tomb; and a trough, found also in the tomb, contained a considerable quantity of the same. A fine specimen of glass ossorium (figured in pl. xiv) was found near this place.

Mr. Roach Smith¹ regards Caerleon as inferior to no place in the importance due to its antiquities.

The excavations on the property of Mr. Jenkins, jun., which produced many of the interesting specimens alluded to, brought forth also other minor objects relating to Roman art. Among these, in the pages of our *Journal*, we have figured a unique third brass of Carausius, the



obverse IMP. CARAVSIVS P. F. AVG., reverse, VENVS VICTRIX, Venus leaning on a column, holding in her left hand an apple, and in her right a palm branch. The same

subject has also been figured from an engraved intaglio set in a gold ring, discovered at Caerleon, in which she is depicted, as upon the coin, leaning on a pillar, the emblem of Security, holding in one hand the apple received on Mount Ida from Mercury, and in the other a palm branch, the emblem of Peace.



The excavations were made in 1848 and 1849, and have been described by Mr. Lee. They displayed a building of some extent, which appeared to have undergone alterations during its occupation by the Romans. The antiquities found, in addition to those more immediately pertaining to the building itself, consisted of portions of Samian ware and other pottery, various bronze ornaments and implements, beads, bone pins and needles, sepulchral stones with inscriptions, a glass bowl and other vessels, ivory carvings, an altar, impress of a sandal upon a large square tile of the Augustan legion, etc., the principal of which have been figured by Mr. Lee. In the churchyard the rev. D. Jones found an altar, with an inscription dedicated to SALVS. It is also figured by Mr. Lee.²

The rev. Mr. King says only three gold coins have been

¹ *Journal of the Association*, vol. iv, p. 257.

² *Delineations*, etc., pl. xxvii.

discovered at Caerleon. One of Antoninus Pius is in his own collection ; a second, of Postumus, was purchased by Miss Banks, the sister of sir Joseph Banks, P.R.S. ; and the third, of Nero, belongs to Mr. W. Jenkins. The following are their descriptions :

ANTONINUS PIUS. *Rev.*—The emperor standing, holding a globe. Cos. IIII.

POSTUMUS. This presents the rare type of his head and Hercules conjoined. It is incuse on the obverse, and could therefore be used as a signet.

NERO. *Obv.*—IMP. NERO CAES. AVGVSTVS. *Rev.*—Jupiter seated, holding the thunderbolt ; JVPITER CVSTOS.

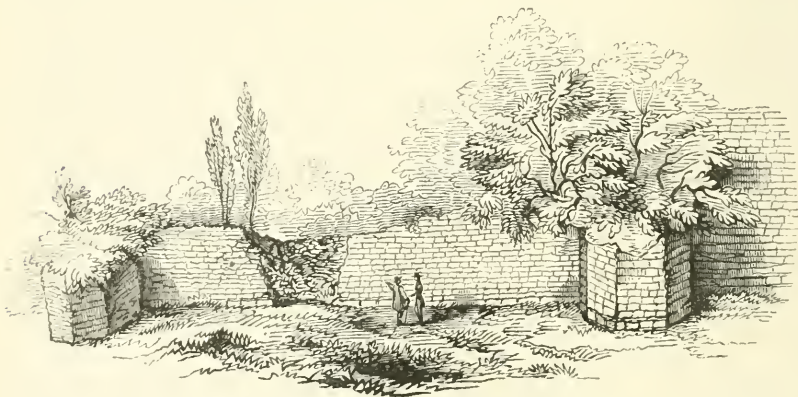
The soil of Caerleon, it must however be stated, has been very unfavourable to the preservation of coins, as it is moist, and causes oxydation and decay. Of four hundred and thirty-five possessed by Mr. J. Jenkins, Mr. King was only able satisfactorily to decypher sixty-seven.

OF CAERWENT, the *Venta Silurum* of the Romans, the foundations of the causeway are still visible ; but it is now reduced to a very inconsiderable village. It was, however, a station of importance, and not inferior in size to that of Caerleon.¹ The walls enclose an area of rather more than a mile in circumference. Mr. Coxe made a careful circuit of the walls and found that, with the exception of the southern side, the whole was defended by a deep moat. The height of the walls varied from twelve to twenty-four feet, and they were thicker at the bottom than the top ; the former part being twelve feet, whilst the latter did not exceed nine feet. The fourth volume of our *Journal* contains a valuable paper relating to Caerleon and Caerwent, written by the rev. Samuel Seyer, the historian of Bristol in 1786, contributed by our respected associate Mr. Gutch. From this we obtain various curious and interesting particulars, together with a plan marking the site of a tes-

¹ Leland thus speaks of Caerwent in his day : " Cairguent, in Base Venteland, is iiii (miles) from Chepstow, in the way to Cairlion. Yt was sumtyme a fair and a large cyte. The places where the iiii gates was, yet appere, and the most part of the wal yet standeth, but al to minischyd and torne. In the lower part of the walle, toward a lytle valey, standeth yet the ruine of () stronge. Within and abowt the waulle now be a xvi or xvii smaull howses for husbandmen, of a new making, and a paroche chirch of S. Stephyn. In the towne yet appere pavimentos of the old streates ; and yn digging they finde fundations of greate brykes, tessellata, pavimenta, et numismata argentea simul et aerea."—*Itin.*, v, f. 5.

sellated pavement found at Caerwent in 1775.¹ The measurement of Caerwent assigned by Mr. Seyer varies from that given by Mr. Strange² and by Mr. Coxe.³ Mr. Strange places the foundations of the walls at the extent of 450 yards by 350; Mr. Coxe, 505 by 350; and Mr. Seyer, 550 by 400 yards.

Three tessellated pavements are mentioned in Camden's *Britannia*⁴ as having been discovered in 1689 at Caerwent prior to that mentioned by Mr. Seyer, which had only been brought to light a few years previous to the record of his observations; it was duly preserved by Mr. Lewis, who judiciously built a room over it to protect it from injury, and it is still to be seen; the pavement was twenty-four feet square, the tesserae nearly an inch square, and in three or four different colours, arranged so as to form a pleasing pattern, and, in the words of Mr. Seyer, to "look very like a handsome carpet." Mr. Seyer saw, at the time of of his visit, upwards of one hundred imperial coins, and many others had been dug up. Our *Journal* supplies an omission by Mr. Seyer of two bastions on the south side. A most perfect one is to be seen figured, together with one towards the west, the latter of which has fallen forward. (See annexed cuts.)



Mr. Roach Smith has called attention to the peculiari-

¹ Mr. Henry Penruddock Wyndham has given a notice of this pavement in the *Archæologia*, vol. vii, p. 410.

² *Archæologia*, vol. v.

³ *Tour in Monmouthshire*.

⁴ Vol. ii, p. 485, Gough's edition.

ties which distinguish the walls of Caerwent, and remarks, that "the eye does not recognize the bonding courses of tiles, so conspicuous at Colchester, St. Alban's, Richborough, Lynne, Burgh, and in most other similar works; and pounded tile does not enter into the composition of the mortar. There are, however, four bonding courses of red sandstone, which, when new, would show like tiles (the rest being limestone); but now, from lichens and weather stains, the external surface of the whole wall appears of one colour. At Silchester, as at Caerwent, there are no tiles in the walls, nor pounded tile in the mortar, but the bonding courses are formed, or rather supplied, by rough carstone, in wide irregular lines."¹



The pentagonal bastions or buttresses at Caerwent are worthy of inspection, as differing in form from all others examined by our late secretary. They are built up against the wall, and not into it; but in this respect they are not singular, as the same obtains at Silchester and elsewhere. I fear that the hope expressed by Mr. Smith in 1849 has not been fulfilled, and that the Monmouthshire antiquaries have not yet had these interesting remains cleared of the dirt and thickets in which they were embedded and hidden. It is not an unreasonable expectation to entertain that, as this ground has been literally not worked upon, the labour of particular examination would be amply repaid by well-directed excavations, in the discovery of pavements and other Roman antiquities.² The Roman coins

¹ Journal, vol. iv, p. 254.

² It will doubtless give great satisfaction, not only to the members of the Association, but to all who take an interest in archaeological researches, to learn that the rev. Freke Lewis, M.A., proprietor of Caerwent, has most liberally granted permission to the Association to make excavations, and display what, from appearances, promises to be a Roman villa of considerable extent, adjoining the ancient station. A select committee, aided by some excellent local antiquaries, has been nominated by the Council to carry out this important

found in this locality have been chiefly of Faustina, Antoninus Pius, Tetricus, Constantius, and Magnentius.

BURRIUM (Usk) occurs in the twelfth and thirteenth Iters of Antonine; but the Roman roads connected with this and the other stations, are far from being accurately defined at the present time. A variety of natural causes, as shown in the character of the soil, the effect of inundations, the making of embankments, etc., has doubtless contributed to the present uncertainty; but it is a subject worthy the attention of some local antiquary, and I hope it may be pursued.

Another matter requiring research is that which relates to the numerous encampments found in Monmouthshire, most of which have been ascribed to the Romans; but by others to the Britons, the Saxons, and the Danes. Our valued associate, Mr. Geo. Vere Irving, is engaged at present in making researches of this nature in Lanarkshire, the first fruits of which have appeared in our *Journal*,¹ and the mode adopted by him in his locality might serve as an example and guide for similar proceedings in this district. The local museum, as a place for depositing the antiquities found in this part of the county, steps in with great advantage towards arriving at correct conclusions upon this interesting topic.

The CASTLES which will become objects of investigation during this Congress are those of Chepstow, Caldicot, Newport, Usk, Llangibby, Raglan, Llanvair, Penhow, and Pencoed.

CHEPSTOW CASTLE is a Norman ruin, of considerable extent and magnificence. It is composed of four courts; but, as it will be presently detailed to you by Mr. Duesbury,² historically and architecturally, I forbear saying anything respecting it, further than that it is distinguished in *Domesday Book* by the appellation of *Castellum de Es-*

undertaking, and they will be happy to receive contributions in aid of the work, which must necessarily be attended with considerable expense.

¹ See pp. 1-32 *ante*.

² Mr. Duesbury was unable to attend the Congress, and in his absence Mr. Thos. Wakeman kindly undertook to make some remarks upon the castle, as well as upon the city walls and the Priory, for which see his observations recorded in this number of the *Journal*. It was a subject of great delight to the assembled members and visitors attending the Congress, to receive such precise and interesting information from their respected associate, whose knowledge of the antiquities of Monmouthshire is equally accurate and extensive.

trighoicl, and is styled in ancient deeds and charters as Strigul, Striguil, etc. It is very generally known as the place of confinement of the witty Harry Martin, one of the regicides, who figured, to the great amusement of the Parliament, in the time of the Commonwealth.

According to Mr. Wakeman, out of about thirty castles which formerly existed in Monmouthshire, we possess knowledge in regard to the period of their construction and the names of their founders of only three or four. He agrees with Mr. Octavius Morgan, that no one of these can date previously to the Norman conquest, and he deduces this opinion in the first place from their position. They are such as were not chosen by our British ancestors for the sites of their strongholds: they are not found either on the summits of high hills, or on the spurs of mountains difficult of access, or offering admission only upon one side. Mr. Wakeman has pointed out one of a peculiar character, which has escaped the observation of Mr. Coxe and other antiquaries, and it may probably be looked upon as a specimen of a British fortress. It is situated rather more than a mile above Caerwent and about three miles from Caerleon, upon a lofty knoll on the banks of the Troggy, commanding the pass through which the river finds its way into the plain. The site is now covered with underwood.

The castle of CALDICOT offers to us architecture of different periods—from the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries. The building of the earlier is attributed by Mr. Wakeman to Walter Fitz-Roger, who died in the latter part of the reign of Henry I. He is known as the builder of the castle of Gloucester, about 1122, and portions of Bristol and Rochester, and part of the Tower of London, have likewise been assigned to him. His right to be considered the architect of these commanding erections is, however, very questionable; he may probably have rather exercised the office of a superintendent of the royal works, being lord high constable of England and sheriff of Gloucestershire, in which he was the successor both of his father and uncle, and he also possessed their estates.

Mr. O. Morgan attributes the neglect with which the history and architecture of Caldicot castle has been treated

to the peculiarity of its situation, as it is some distance from the high road and stands upon a bank, which raises it just above the level of a low meadow. He refers the remains to three periods, the earlier being that of the twelfth century, the second following after a short interval, and the third the fourteenth century. In the account which I have recommended to your notice, these appear to me to have been well made out and justly assigned; but it will be for our antiquarian architects to say how far they agree with Mr. Morgan in the opinion expressed by him, that the round tower or keep at the north-west corner originally stood alone as a single tower, being erected as a stronghold for the protection of the lordship, and defence of the "pill" or creek, which at that period he thinks may possibly have extended as an estuary further into the country than it now does. It has hitherto been customary to attribute the construction of round towers to a much earlier period, and, indeed, to assign them to the Phœnicians and other ancient people; but the manner in which recent examinations have been made of these objects, would seem to deprive them of much of the antiquity that had been affixed to them. The large Norman square keep will also be seen at Caldicot; and those of our Association who accompanied us in our Congress last year, will not fail to make comparison with that which we beheld at Rochester attributed to bishop Gundulph. The keep of Caldicot will be found to present a specimen of excellent masonry; but much of it is hidden from our view by the growth of ivy, which perhaps is now, however, protecting the walls from a natural decadence.

From the architectural appearances it would seem that there is no feature of decidedly Norman character in this building,—that it belongs to a period subsequent, and that it appertains either to the early English or to the transition from the Norman to that which is known under that denomination. Mr. Morgan decidedly pronounces its date to be the latter part of the twelfth century, and he gives its construction to Humphry de Bohun, who, as Mr. Wakeman has shown, married Margaret, daughter and ultimately heiress of Milo Fitzwalter, and through her acquired the title of earl of Hereford, the office of constable of England, and the lordship of Caldicot, to which

he succeeded about the year 1176, and which he continued to possess till the time of his death in 1187.

There can, I believe, be no question as to a very large portion of the castle belonging to the fourteenth century. One of these chambers, indeed, presents to us a two-light oggee window; the fire-places and other arrangements will perhaps be esteemed conclusive on this head. I dismiss this subject by recommending your attention to the machicolations, corbels, and sculptured heads to be seen on the west of one of the towers of the grand south gate-house, which is still in a very tolerable state of preservation.

NEWPORT was originally a fortified city, surrounded by walls, of one of the entrances into which, in the east towards the bridge, the pivots of the hinges are still preserved. The house of the murenger, an office of importance and necessity in fortified places, is still to be seen, having an ornamented front with a coat of arms carved in stone over the door. The duty of this officer was to look to the condition and see to the repair when necessary of the walls, and to collect a toll for the same. The remains of the castle of Newport are massive though not of great magnitude. It was built of rubble and coigned with hewn stones. It dates posterior to the conquest, and from its pointed arches may probably be referred to the Anglo-Norman period. It forms one of the possessions of the Kemeys family.

The castle of USK, holding a commanding position and overlooking the town, river, and valley, now presents to us but little remains of its former greatness. It is renowned for the numerous assaults to which it was subjected by Owen Glendower, who was defeated at the battle of Usk by the royal troops. Grose has figured the ruins, and Coxe has given a vignette of the keep, which is interesting. Dr. Beattie has given a very picturesque view of the castle, river, bridge, etc., and has furnished an interesting account of the historical associations connected with the castle, in his admirable and beautiful work on the castles and abbeys of England. "The ruins" (he says) "consist merely of a shell, enclosing an area or court, and some outworks on the west, formed by two straight walls converging one to the other, and strengthened at their union by a round tower. At the extremity of the south wall is a grand

pointed gateway, with grooves for a portcullis, which was the principal entrance." The baronial hall measures only forty-eight by twenty-four feet; it yet served to receive and entertain the renowned Strongbow and his followers. The founder of the castle is not precisely known. The earliest account Coxe could obtain gave its possession to Richard de Clare, who died in 1262, and it probably came to him by inheritance, as it was assigned to his widow Maud, who received it as a part of her dower. Camps and entrenchments are numerous in the neighbourhood. At Craik y Gaeryd there are the remains of a Roman camp, and within the area are several tumuli varying from fifteen to twenty feet in height.

LLANGIBBY Castle, in the neighbourhood of Usk, stands on the brow of a hill, and the remains are surrounded by an extensive tract of wood. A square tower, much dilapidated, the walls of some apartments, with springing columns and a portion of the roof which they formerly supported, are still apparent. Its origin dates subsequent to the conquest, and the pointed arches prove its erection to be after the introduction of Gothic architecture. The name of this castle was formerly Trergreg or Traygruck, and was held by the earls of Gloucester descended from the line of Clare. Leland¹ makes mention of it thus:—"The Castel of Trergreg a ii myles from Cair Uske in Middle Venceland. Yt is otherwise comunely cawllid *Lankiby*, bycause it is the Paroche of S. Kiby." In a charter granted to the town of Usk, Roger Mortimer styles himself lord of Tregrucke. Early in the seventeenth century it became the property of the Williams family, and was known as a place of importance at the time of the commonwealth. It was then of great strength and well stored with arms and ammunition. Sir Trevor Williams was created a baronet in 1641. He was engaged at the siege of Raglan castle. His intrepidity and efforts for the restoration of monarchy excited the fears of Cromwell, who caused him to be arrested. He died in 1692.

Of RAGLAN it is unnecessary for me to speak; but I may congratulate the Association in having this subject in the hands of my learned and amiable friend Dr. Beattie. The visit to this venerable ruin must necessarily form one of

¹ Itin. v., f. 7.

the most striking and interesting features of the present congress.

The castles of LLANWAIR, PENHOW, and PENCOED will be treated of by a local antiquary long attached to our Association and much better acquainted with these subjects than I can pretend to be. As his observations will be illustrated on the spot, I need not detain you with any details. I shall therefore confine myself simply to state that LLANWAIR must have been at one time of magnitude and importance, inasmuch as at no part of the walls are they found to be of a thickness less than seven feet. It had been in the possession of the family of sir Robert Pagan from the time of the conquest, whence it passed to George Kemeys, in the reign of James I, and still continues in the Kemeys or Tynte family.

PENHOW is one of the castles compassing the Forest or Chase of Wentwood, of which Pencoed and Llanwair also constituted two others, and is esteemed to have been erected by the family of Clare, who subdued this part of Monmouthshire. It was formerly in the possession of St. Maur, or Seymour, who came over at the time of the conquest. Upon the extinction of the male line it passed into the family of sir George Somerset, third son of Charles the first earl of Worcester. By purchase it passed to the family of Lewis, and being seized for a debt owing to the crown, was sold to Edward Lloyd of Bristol, whence it passed to Samuel Lloyd of Newbury, Berkshire, and is now, I believe, a possession of lord Overstone.

PENCOED is about two miles south-west of Penhow and five from Caerwent. Its remains consist of a gateway worthy of notice, having circular arches flanked by two narrow pentagon turrets, a round embattled tower, and some portions of the ancient wall. The mansion-house to which the gateway leads is interesting, and is formed of the remains of the old castle, though many parts are of a much later period. It is now a farm-house. Pencoed by charter belonged to sir Richard Moore in 1270, but in the fifteenth century was in the possession of a younger brother of the Morgans of Tredegar. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, sir Walter Montague left an estate to found a hospital for ten or twelve poor persons, and a chaplain to perform divine service once a month in

the chapel of Pencoe'd castle. The hospital was established, but no chaplain provided, and the chapel is in dilapidation.

Of monastic institutions and churches our list is equally extensive. First we have

THE ABBEY of TINTERN, which will receive its due meed of attention from our reverend and learned secretary, to whom it has been assigned.

CHEPSTOW PRIORY was an alien priory belonging to the Benedictine monks, and in the Norman times was called the monastery of Strigule. Its origin dates shortly after the conquest and it formed a cell to the abbey of Corneille in Normandy. Like to most priories, its history presents various conditions of prosperity and misfortune: dedicated to St. Mary—seized by the crown—restored by Henry IV—granted by Edward IV to God's House in Cambridge—and at the dissolution valued at £32 per annum. Robert Shrewsbury was prior in 1534, who with Robert Tewkesbury subscribed to the supremacy. Little remains of the ancient structure beyond that which forms part of the present church, and is an object of well-deserved interest.

ST. KYNEMARK'S PRIORY is in the vicinity of Chepstow and now offers to our notice a few remains of interest. It was endowed soon after the conquest. Mr. Wakeman has kindly promised us some remarks on this priory.

The church at MALPAS was originally a religious house for two Cluniac monks and a cell belonging to the priory of Montacute in Somersetshire, and by Tanner conjectured to be the "Terra de Cairlion" granted to that monastery by Winebald de Baeluna in the reign of Henry I. In 1546 it was granted to sir William Herbert of St. Julian's. It now belongs to sir Charles Morgan, bart. It is one of the most interesting churches of the county, presenting in its arched door on the western side a fine example of early Norman architecture. The arch of the southern window is elegantly ornamented and embossed with roses. All the columns are distinguished by being dissimilar, and denote an early period. It will be for our architects to pronounce as to their title to the Saxon time to which they are by some thought to possess a claim.

Of USK PRIORY there are some remains existing on the south-east side of the tower of the present church. The edifice itself is now a farm-house. It was an establish-

ment for five Benedictine nuns, and founded by the earls of Clare. At the dissolution it was granted to Roger Williams. A frieze in an apartment on the first floor presents a number of ornamental devices and emblazoned coats of arms, which I refer to the special consideration of our excellent secretary Mr. Planché. They are probably the arms of the founders and benefactors to the priory.

The churches of Monmouthshire are distinguished by some peculiarities; they are mostly simple in their character, small in point of size, and shaped rather like to a barn. In some there is no distinction in the breadth or height between the nave and the chancel, and these have no belfry. All, however, are not in accordance with this description; variations must occur in buildings which belong to different periods; many are very picturesque, standing in the midst of fields, or on the banks of rivers, and removed some distance from any habitations, a circumstance which, in my opinion, always enhances the solemnity of their appearance. Few, if any, are entitled to be considered earlier, and most of them are later, than the Norman period; but the church of SCENFRETH has been looked upon as presenting Saxon features, or at least early Norman, so difficult is it to distinguish, or rather to pronounce, as to the precise time denoted by their structure. As we have not been able to include Scenfreth in our programme, I may perhaps be permitted to say a few words regarding it *en passant*. This place is only remarkable for the remains of its castle and its church. The village is small and there are but few cottages. The castle gives a specimen of the round tower, and was inhabited by Hubert de Burgh and Edmund earls of Kent. But at an earlier period it was occupied by Cadivor ap Gwaithvoed, or Cadivor Vaur, from whom, according to Enderbie, it was wrested by one of the Norman chieftains. Mr. Coxe looked upon Scenfreth castle as the oldest in Monmouthshire, and as being of a date prior to the Conquest. It now belongs to the duchy of Lancaster. The church contains some interesting monuments.

The churches of Monmouthshire present much of early English and more of the perpendicular. The former is chiefly plain in its character, often, indeed, rude. Three examples of the larger churches with aisles, formerly



arranged in a cruciform shape as in conventual buildings, occur at Tintern, Chepstow, and Usk. From Mr. Freeman's examination we learn that the clerestory is exclusively confined to the largest buildings, namely, those of Tintern, Chepstow, and Newport. He thinks the absence of the clerestory may have arisen from there being only a single aisle, but most of the aisled churches he has examined in South Wales are without clerestories, from which we may presume that it was a preferred and accepted form of arrangement in the locality. The chancels of some of the churches of Monmouthshire are of considerable size, as at Roggiet and Caerwent, where it is as large, or indeed larger, than the nave. The towers are of the perpendicular period, but, according to Mr. Freeman, with little of the perpendicular about them. Matherne presents the best specimen of the perpendicular steeple. The internal arcades of the churches are of the same character, though in detail far inferior to their Somersetshire models. Of earlier arcades, not to mention either the splendid Norman instances of Chepstow and Newport, Matherne and Usk must be cited as early English.

There is little of decorated tracery to be found in the windows of the churches of Monmouthshire. A cinque-foiled example will be found at Roggiet, and Caldicot offers another instance.

The churches we shall have an opportunity of visiting are those of Chepstow, Matherne, St. Pierre, Portskewitt, Caldicot, Roggiet, Magor, Caerleon, Usk, Caerwent, Penhow, Newport.

CHEPSTOW CHURCH was formerly part of the chapel of the ancient priory, the nave of the old conventual church constituting the most ancient part of the present building; and it is to be exceedingly regretted that in this, as in too many other instances, the successive alterations to which it has been subjected have only tended to destroy its original character, and render its appearance one of incongruity and deformity. Mr. Freeman has treated this subject with deserved severity in the pages of the *Archæologia Cambrensis*,¹ and it is unnecessary for me to enlarge upon it. Mr. C. Baily will favour us with his researches; and to those I am certain we shall all be ready to pay deserved

¹ Vol. ii, N. S., pp. 1-8.

attention. A view of the western doorway, and of the west window, both of fine Norman work, only leads us to deeply regret the disappearance of other portions of the building.

The church of MATHERNE has already been mentioned.

The church of St. PIERRE was built by the family of that name, located here soon after the conquest. It contains two sepulchral stones, discovered in 1764, and now deposited in the church porch. Mr. Strange directed the attention of antiquaries to these monumental slabs and inscriptions by a paper in the *Archæologia*;¹ and Pegge contributed an account to the *Gentleman's Magazine*² for 1765. The inscription on one is in old Norman French rhyme, and reads thus:—

“ Ici git le cors v. de sene pere,
 Precz pur li en bone manere ;
 Le Jesu pur sa pasion,
 De phacez li done pardun.

Amen, R. P.”

Here lies the body of Urien St. Pierre ; pray devoutly for his soul, that Jesus, for his passion's sake, would give him pardon for his sins.

The other stone is conjectured to have been that of Margaret, wife of Urien de St. Pierre ; it has, however, no inscription, but the slab presents the figure of a hand holding a cross, the stem of which is ornamented with rude figures representing three falcons, a dragon, and a lion. Above the cross is a vacant space for a coat of arms, with ten pellets or bezants. We have the authority of Dugdale for saying that Urien de St. Pierre lived in the reign of Henry III, and died in 1239 ; that he had a wife named Margaret, and a son by her married Urien de St. Pierre, at that time sixteen years of age. Philip ap Llewellyn, the founder of the line of Lewis St. Pierre, was a son of lord St. Clare, who became lord of Tredegar by an union with the family of sir Morgan Meredith. The succession has continued in an uninterrupted line to the much respected proprietor of the present day, Charles Lewis, esq.

PORTSCUIT, or PORTSKEWITT, as it is now written, is a small village, supposed to have been formerly a port to Caerwent. From Caradoc we learn that Harold, after de-

¹ See vol. v, plate 2, and p. 76.

² Vol. xxxv, p. 72.

feating prince Gryffyth, and conquering part of South Wales, built a magnificent house at this place, and therein entertained the king. It was destroyed by Caradoc ap Gruffydh, who killed all the workmen, despoiled the house of its valuables, and utterly defaced the building itself. The church will be found to present a fine example of early architecture, perhaps one of the best in South Wales and Monmouthshire.

CALDICOT CHURCH is of Gothic architecture, and presents remains of painted glass worthy of notice. It is dedicated to St. Mary; and over the southern door, in a niche, is a figure of the Virgin. There is a central tower, with a quadrangular capping, and no battlement. It is of a remarkable height. A headless recumbent stone figure, in a recess in the wall within the porch, is reported to have been the image of the founder. It is a vicarage, and was formerly in the gift of the monks of Llanthony. It appears to have escaped the notice of Tanner and Dugdale; but Rogers, in his *Secret Memoirs of Monmouthshire*, alludes to a priory house at Caldicot, in the reign of Charles II, belonging to sir Charles Kemeys, in which family it still remains invested.

The encampment of SUDBROOK or SOUTHBROOK, and the ruins of TRINITY CHAPEL, are subjects claiming our attention. The entrenchment is not square, as stated by Harris, to whom we are indebted for the first account of the antiquities of Monmouthshire, but stretched out in the form of a bow, whose cord is the sea coast, as described by Coxe. It is formed of a triple rampart of earth and two ditches. The interior rampart is not less than twenty feet in height. It is generally conjectured to have been a Roman fortress, erected to cover the landing of troops, and the first station of the Romans in Siluria; but others have esteemed it as a work, either of the British, or Saxons, or Danes: it is, therefore, a question still undetermined. The old chapel is a picturesque Gothic remain, on the outside of the great rampart, and in former times probably was attached to a great mansion. A deed on the *Chase of Wentwood* gives the name of John Southbrooke, in the twelfth century, as being entitled to house boot and hay boot, from the conquest, for his house at Southbrooke.

The church at Roggeit exhibits a chancel larger than

the nave, as I have before stated. It also presents a square turret crowned with a tall octagonal pinnacle, and a corbel table below the battlement, which are interesting, and well deserving of notice.

MAGOR CHURCH presents a genuine early English tower, with perpendicular alterations ; the chancel is decorated ; the outer doorway of the porch is elaborate, and has floriated ornamentation. Mr. Freeman has mentioned the timber roof in the chancel as worthy of notice, being a strange variety of the cradle form, describing a sort of pointed arch depressed at the top.

The church of ST. WOLLOS, which is the church of Newport, is regarded by Mr. Freeman as altogether one of the most curious churches in England, containing several features of great beauty. The nave, he says, "is a fine specimen of grand, though perfectly unadorned, Romanesque. The arcades and clerestory are quite perfect, five plain, round arches, of two orders, rising from massive columnar piers ; the responds are square masses chamfered into an octagonal shape. Plain, narrow, round-headed windows, deeply splayed within, form the clerestory. No building better exemplifies the capabilities of that wonderful style, now admitting the most lavish gorgeousness of decoration, now standing in the most severe and unadorned simplicity, without in either case detracting in the least from its unrivalled solemnity and grandeur."¹ Here we have a Norman clerestory in a church not of the conventual type. Of this description Mr. Freeman has seen only four examples : St. Wollos, Towyn, St. Peter's (Northampton), and Rothwell, in the same county. The western chapel is a plain early English structure, without aisles ; and in it are some sepulchral effigies deserving attention, though much dilapidated. But the most remarkable part of this building is the doorway connecting the western chapel with the nave. It is of a character not commonly met with in England, and offers a superb example of Romanesque. Mr. Orlando Jewitt is no less enthusiastic on the subject of this doorway than Mr. Freeman, as will be seen by reference to a note in the *Archæologia Cambrensis*.² He says it is a very curious specimen, and the only instance he recol-

¹ Archæol. Cambrensis, vol. ii, New Series, p. 193.

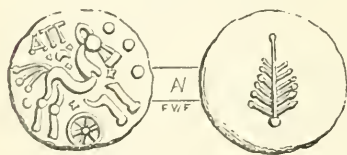
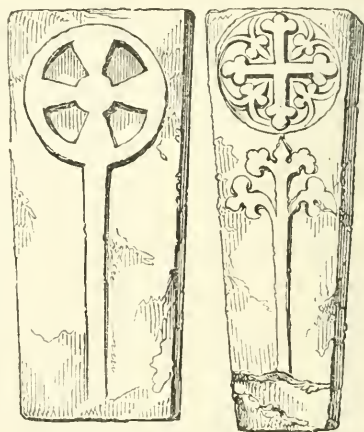
² Vol. ii, p. 195.

lects of diminishing shafts. He assigns it to the latter end of the eleventh century.

CAERLEON CHURCH, in its splendid days, was the metropolitan see of Wales, and Dubricius, the celebrated opponent of the Pelagian heresy, was the first archbishop. The remains of a cathedral are now to be found, and the present church is of the Norman æra.

The church of Usk is of the Anglo-Norman time, and was originally much larger than at present, and built like to a cathedral. The square embattled tower at the east formed the centre, and communicated with a transept and choir, now no longer to be seen; but evidences of their former existence are still visible. The church originally belonged to the priory, of which, as already stated, some portions are still extant.

The church of CAERWENT is built principally of hewn stones, and other materials of Roman structures. It once had two aisles. The tower, doorways, and windows, belong to the perpendicular period. The porch has a rich doorway ornamented with a four-leaved flower, and with a crossing similar to that of Magor. Mr. Freeman regards it as an intermediate example between the military and non-military classes. Two slabs were discovered in the churchyard, turned upside down, and have been carefully preserved by the rev. Mr. Steel. (See annexed cuts.) We have also been fortunate in having to represent a gold British coin found in the vicinity of Chepstow, and in the possession of miss



Lewis of Portskewitt. It is a variety of a class not yet satisfactorily appropriated, though the labours of our associate, the rev. Beale Poste, have been zealously devoted to this object.¹

¹ See Journal, vol. ii, pp. 12, 13, 23, et seq.

PENHOW CHURCH is situated close to the castle, dates its origin soon after the conquest, but has undergone many alterations, and now presents a motley specimen of architecture.

I have thus briefly drawn your attention to the various objects selected for examination in the county of Monmouth. Numerous and important as they are, we are not simply confined to them as the course of our inquiries at this Congress; for we shall avail ourselves of the opportunity of visiting also some places of deep interest in the neighbourhood, among which I may specially mention Llandaff cathedral, which, in the opinion of the learned dean Conybeare, although not rich and gaudy in its architectural beauty, like to the cathedrals of Salisbury, Lincoln, and Ely; nor of the imposing amplitude of Canterbury, York, or Winchester, can yet boast of supremacy, as regards elegance of detail and magnitude of scale, over every other cathedral in the principality of Wales. As Mr. Freeman will favour us with a description of the cathedral, with the history and antiquities of which he is so well acquainted; and as, under the kind direction of the highly respected dean of Llandaff, we shall enjoy every facility that can be afforded us for the examination of its structure, I forbear to trespass longer on your time. I have already, I fear, taken advantage of my position, and detained you too long, but the subjects for this Congress are so numerous, and present to us such various points for consideration, and under which it is necessary they should be viewed, that I thought a summary like that which I have now presented to you might be useful in preparing us for the inspection of those objects of antiquity for which we have assembled; for

“I doe love these auncient ruynes—

We never tread upon them but we set
Our foote upon some reverend historie;
And, questionless, here in this open court
(Which now lies naked to the injuries
Of stormy weather) some men lye interred,
Loved the church so well, and gave so largely to it,
They thought it should have canopied their bones
Till Domesday; but all things have their end—
Churches and cities (which have diseases like to men)
Must have like death that we have.”¹

¹ Webster's *Dutchess of Malfey*.

TERRITORIES OF THE ANCIENT BRITISH KING VORTIGERN ON THE WYE, AND IN THE SOUTH OF WALES.

BY THE REV. BEALE POSTE.

[*Read by the rev. Thomas Hugo.*]

THE story of the monarch of old times of whom I now speak, is probably sufficiently known to those here assembled. He was notorious in having been mainly instrumental, as king of the Britons, in bringing in the Saxons; but his connexion as a local sovereign with the part of the kingdom in which we are now assembled,—the banks of the Wye, the picturesque regions of the south of Herefordshire and the adjoining parts of Wales,—may perhaps not be equally known, and may be touched upon with advantage. He was in the first instance, I repeat, a local king in these parts; but ultimately, by the election of the Britons, he became king of the whole country.

Thus much by way of introducing the subject, as it is not intended to enter upon the history of those times, which must be sought for elsewhere.

The points I shall briefly advert to will be these: (1) His original patrimonial territories, and some additions subsequently made to them; (2) The fortress in which, in the course of the political dissensions of the day and civil wars, he was ultimately besieged and destroyed; and (3) The Roman roads and stations which were either within, or the more immediately connected with his provinces. Now then for the matters of our detail; my authorities for the first part of which will chiefly be the various editions of the ancient British historian Nennius, including the celebrated Irish one published at Dublin not many years since, Cambrian literature, and a passage in the old Caledonian historian Boethius, at the point where he happens to cross our path and has materials to the purpose. The interest excited by the scenery, in this one of the most picturesque and romantic parts of the British isles, may

possibly be increased by knowing what has been transacted in these quarters in ancient times.

As a general view of his career; he is first known to us for his treachery to the family of the king his predecessor, and then appears as a successful competitor for the crown of Britain in those peculiarly unsettled times; but when he obtained the object of his ambition, his reign was only signalised by the misfortunes of his country, and, as far as we are informed, he governed with no other skill than to retain his seat on the throne. He was able in some measure to compass this point, having been king, with one interval of abdication, nearly twenty years; that is, from 448 to 454 and from 468 to 481.

The territories which he held from his ancestors seem pretty well ascertained. They are admitted on all hands to have been the two lordships of Erging and Ewas, lying together in the present county of Hereford, in what was in ancient British times a portion of the kingdom of the Silures, but which in later British times constituted a part of the kingdom of the Demetæ; the extent being the southern part of Herefordshire abovenamed, bounded by Gloucestershire, or the Dobuni, on the east, and Radnorshire and Brecknockshire on the west. Erging appears to have been by far the largest lordship of the two, and an extensive district in the said south part of Herefordshire is still called Archenfield, which is very commonly supposed to be the modern form of the ancient appellation. Ewas, the name of which is still retained, lies west of this, and is about thirteen miles long by six broad. Both together the two districts formed a tract of country about twenty-five miles long by a breadth averaging ten miles. You see here the territories of a minor British chieftain, and their small extent doubtless prompted him to go into the military service of the British king of those times, whose family, as has been remarked, he superseded. It is true he acquired some further territory afterwards, as the districts of Built and Gworthigirnian, lying respectively in Radnorshire and Brecknockshire, which continued in his family for many centuries; but these may be rather viewed as acquisitions made after he came to the throne.

To continue. There were two Roman stations, which lay within the limits which have just been described, Ari-

conium, now known as Bury Hill, two miles and a half from Ross, and Blestium, called otherwise Old Town, or Castle Hên, at the southern extremity of Ewas. Ariconium may be considered to have been his capital, and in it he perished, and the place was destroyed. The ruins now attest a destruction attended with much violence : and we may learn from the fate of this place, that the entire subversion which most of the Roman stations present at this day, was not always effected by the Saxons, as commonly supposed, but was sometimes the consequence of international wars among the Britons themselves.

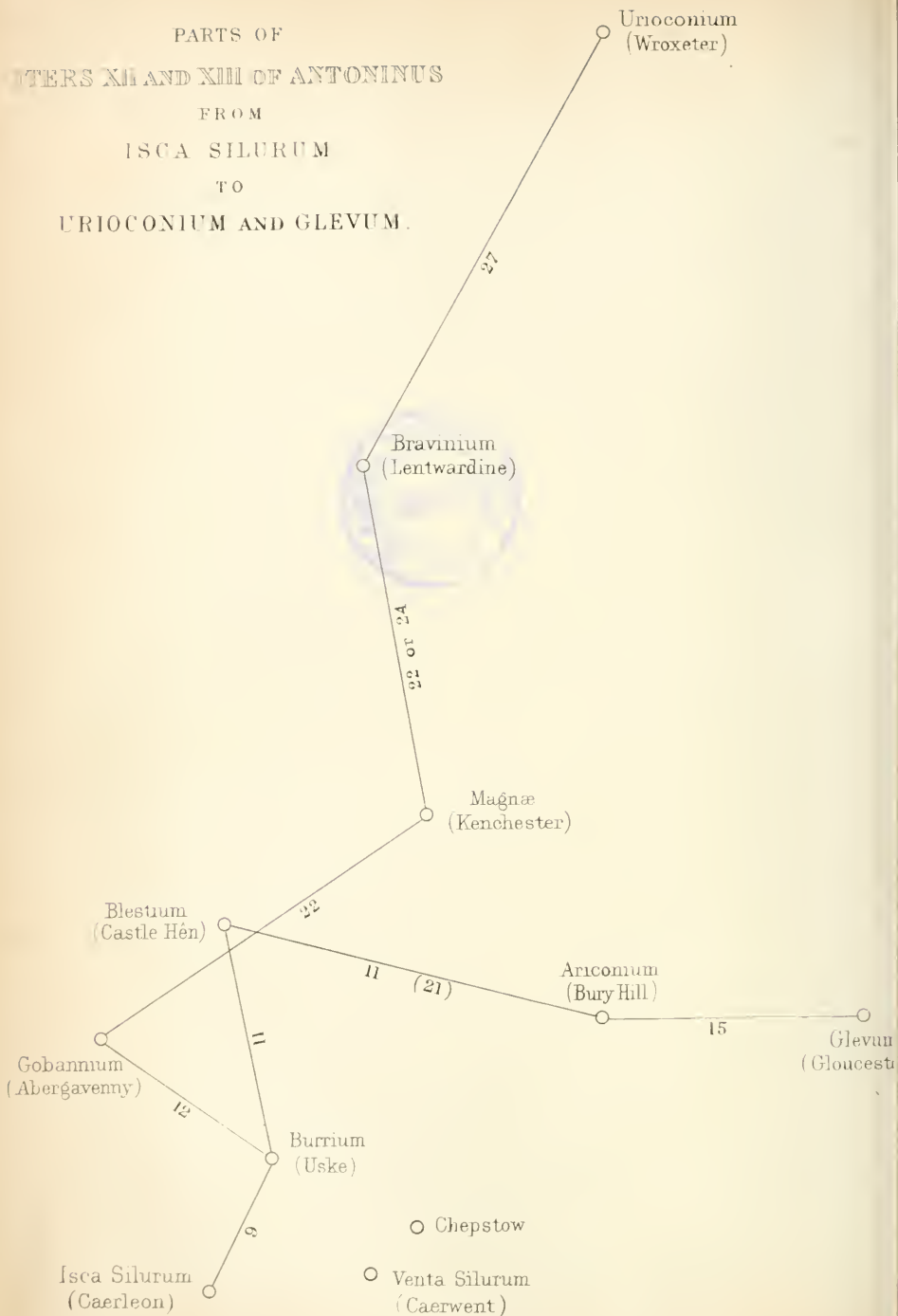
With regard to authorities for the place of his death ; it will appear by a comparison of the various copies of the ancient, and as we may say, notwithstanding its brevity and deficiencies, the valuable British history of Nennius, that the said work does not precisely name it. The most authentic text in the Dublin edition, p. 103, says, that he fled first to his fortress, called after his name, in his own province of Gworthigirnian, in which the fortress known as *Caer Gwrthrynnion* is situated, afterwards to another fortress belonging also to himself, the name of which is not expressed. The words added in other editions, as those of Gale, Gunn, and others, "on the river *Teibi* or *Thesidi*," seem rather interpolations ; whilst the British chronicles, as far as they have weight, unanimously say that he perished in *Erging*. One chronicle says, in the "*Castle of Goronwy*;" but as that term is merely of general import, implying the castle of the governor or commander, for it is not a personal name, it only more strongly points to *Ariconium*, the supposed seat of government and capital of *Erging*, where I have ventured to suggest that the catastrophe took place, and where ruins and traditions much evidence it.

Omitting then, as I have said, the other actions of the life of Vortigern, which are not required to be related for our present purpose, I pass on to the last scene of his existence, which had a termination not uncommon perhaps to many of the chieftains in the middle ages ; and as there is a detailed account of the catastrophe in the writings of *Hector Boethius*, which is nowhere else to be found, to that I will concisely advert.

He tells us that *Aurelius Ambrosius*, his competitor for



PARTS OF
 PARTS XII AND XIII OF ANTONINUS
 FROM
 ISCA SILURUM
 TO
 URIOCONIUM AND GLEVUM.



the British crown, coming over with a large body of troops from Gaul, surprised him in his fortress before he could collect a sufficient force to oppose him effectually. It is related, nevertheless, that Vortigern drew up his men in array outside his stronghold, and endeavoured to make head against his enemy in the open field, but in vain, for after some conflict he was driven back into it by superior numbers. Here "the fortress's strength seemed to laugh a siege to scorn", as his opponents, sitting down before it, were neither able to force the gates or get possession of the walls. The old Roman town showed the strength and solidity of its defences: but still they went on fighting, and approaching nearer and nearer they filled the ditch with faggots, and drawing on to one of the principal gates they piled heaps of the same material against that, and set them on fire. They burnt the gate, and by that means effected their admission more easily into the place; but the fire at the same time communicated to the other buildings, and Vortigern and his whole family that were there perished in the general conflagration which ensued.

Thus fell Ariconium, whose ruins yet strike the eye, and thus perished the usurper of his day, for such the accounts represent him to be; but ancient Celtic customs were strongly exemplified in one of the transactions which took place after his decease, for Nennius tells us in his *History*, c. 48, that, enemy as Ambrosius had been during his life, he allowed Pascent, Vortigern's son, to hold the two districts of Built and Guorthigirnian, which indeed continued in his descendants above four hundred years. The Celtic national character thus appears to great advantage, for though they punished a time-serving monarch, yet they extended not that punishment to his offspring. It would be pleasing could we say that Pascent duly requited this indulgence; but such accounts as we have of those times unfortunately represent him as soon afterwards becoming one of the bitterest opponents of Aurelius Ambrosius, and of his successor.

I have now to consider Iters XII and XIII of the well-known and much cited Itinerary of Antoninus, which refer to these parts, and also to exhibit due proof that the two stations, Ariconium and Blestium, were within the dominions of Vortigern. (See plate 23.)

Neither of the above two are iters direct, but are rather discursive in their routes, which arose from the geographical characteristics of this part of the kingdom, namely, its being indented by large rivers and bays, as also studded with numerous mountains; the roads therefore took a winding direction; and besides this the said twelfth iter had a peculiarity in the arrangement of its stations, which it is necessary to note. This went from Calleva, that is Wallingford, to Isca Dumnoniorum, or Exeter. Thence the route was recontinued from some unexplained cause at Leucarum, or Lloghor, in Wales, one stage from the present Carmarthen, at a great distance from the preceding station of Exeter. From this point it takes a direction to Isca Silurum, or Caerleon, where begins the part of the iter with which we have the more particularly to do. From Isca Silurum it goes on for four or five other stations, coming to its termination at Urioconium, or Wroxeter, in Shropshire. Its progress from Isca to Burrium, which is at or in the immediate vicinity of Usk, and the distance nine miles, is very clear. Thence it makes a right angle to the north-west, and twelve miles bring it to Gobannium, or Abergavenny. Here the road diverges somewhat considerably more than a right angle from its former line, and takes a pretty direct course to the right to Magnæ, or Kenchester; the ancient Roman way being sufficiently traceable, particularly near Madley, a few miles short of the last named place. From Magnæ twenty-four, or according to one copy of Antoninus, twenty-two miles bring it to Bravinium, or Lentwardine, at the northern extremity of Herefordshire, otherwise called Branogenium, and twenty-seven more advance it to its termination Urioconium, or Wroxeter, in Shropshire; the traces of the ancient Roman road continuing all the way from Abergavenny.

The Iter XIII is from the same Isca Silurum, or Caerleon, to the same Calleva, or Wallingford, through Glevum, or Gloucester; but we have only to notice the part of it which is west of the last named place, and this portion of the iter is best arranged thus. From Isca Silurum to Burrium nine miles, as before. From Burrium to Blestium, that is Castle Hên in Ewas, eleven, or rather fourteen miles. From Blestium to Ariconium, or Bury Hill, near Ross, eleven, or rather twenty-one miles. From Arico-

nium to Glevum, or Gloucester, fifteen miles, which is correct. Thus we have it, and the noting this distance seems again all that is required for our purpose ; for there being the lordship or principality in these parts called Erging, or otherwise Archenfield or Arconfield, it is pretty evident that it was either named after Ariconium, or Ariconium from it ; and Bury Hill in Archenfield is at the distance from Glevum, or Gloucester, which Ariconium should be. We thus appear to connect sufficiently Bury Hill and Ariconium with the territories of Vortigern.

Ariconium, it perhaps should be further noted, must be the *Caer Guorthigirn* of Nennius, which he places among the twenty-eight principal cities of Britain ; but it has not been hitherto so assigned.

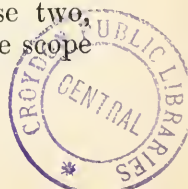
With respect to placing Blestium at Castle Hên in Ewas, Vortigern's other province, no other station so well corresponds ; and the name which is asserted to occur also in the form of Blescium (see Baxter's *Glossary of British Antiquities*, p. 37), and in that of Glescium (see Gale's *Antoninus*, p. 128), seems to have some reference to the river Eskel, on which the station stands, the same as the neighbouring station of Burrium was named from the *Birthin*, and even *Isca* itself from the stream of the same name, now the *Usk*.

ON

THE CHRONICLE OF TYSILIO, THE PRIMARY CHRONICLE OF THE CAMBRIANS.

BY THE REV. BEALE POSTE.

THE principal Celtic languages which are known in modern times are six : the Welsh, Erse, Gaelic, Armorican, Cornish, and Manx ; of these the first four possess a literature, and especially the first two ; and of those two, more particularly the Welsh, which has an extensive scope



in poetry, and boasts of the names of several authors, as Taliesin, Aneurin, and Llowarch Hên, who retain and are likely to retain a high reputation.

The existence of poetical writers in a language presupposes that of prose writers. There were such in ancient Britain; and it can be clearly shown that various histories and narratives were extant down to the eighth and ninth centuries. (See the historical poem of Gaimar, the Anglo-Norman poet, and other authorities.) There is a supposed assertion to the contrary of the old writer Gildas, that there were no British histories in his time; but his words have been much misunderstood. He says nothing of the kind: but merely spoke of there not being in his day ecclesiastical histories of a particular class to which he had made allusion in the course of his argument. However, now for the origin of the *Chronicle* of Tysilio, which forms our present topic. The brevity with which I am intending to speak prevents me from filling out the full outline of my subject, and I can accordingly only give the results of numerous and lengthened inquiries, the details of which I omit.

We have this *Chronicle* of Tysilio in a complete form, which, by internal evidence, we know with sufficient certainty was written about the year of the Christian era 1000, as we shall see immediately, and it will be most to my purpose, and most illustrative of my subject, to speak of this *Chronicle* from its contents. We know the state of society in the beginning of the eleventh century in Europe, Britain, and Cambria; we know the state of religion at that day, and the state of the British and Cambrian churches; we know that this *Chronicle*, though not an ecclesiastical history, was written under the influence of the church; we know the fondness for romances then beginning to show itself so strongly; we know the patriotism of the Cambrians, who were then in a very depressed state. Well, then, having this chronicle in full, as I have said, the contents of which are very singular, and knowing the exact position of the times, we are enabled to ascertain much of the nature and purpose of this remarkable composition, which falling into the hands of Geoffrey of Monmouth rather more than a century after it was written, and being translated by him, embellished and republished,

acquired such a widely disseminated reputation, and had a great influence on literature, both English and continental.

The internal evidence which fixes the date of this chronicle at about the year 1000 is this, that it carries its account down to the reign of Athelstan, who died in the year 940 ; after which it has a species of historical retrospect of about sixty years. Assuming this date, which is done on very fair grounds, and besides is otherwise supported, it will be found to be a period when the Britons were tolerably free from foreign wars, and so far favourable to literary composition. The Pelagian heresy had been long put down, and the Latin church had gained the entire ascendancy. Paganism and Druidism had become subdued, and all real connexion between the bards and Druidism had become dissevered, except that the bardic poems even of a subsequent date display allusions to Druidism. Paganism lingered the latest among the bards. They and the church had once been opponents, but now the latter had got the upper hand, and retained their superiority, and might wish to put out of the way every remains of ancient error. The taste for romance, to which I have already alluded, was progressing more and more. Such was the state of things ; and by paying attention to this we may better understand the contents of the *Chronicle*. As a general rule, most histories that have been written will be found adapted for the times in which the writers lived. Some have been written to excite public spirit, as the historical works of Tacitus ; some to disseminate philosophical principles ; others to support political opinions. Each has its object ; and a very little examination will make it appear that the same was the case with our *Chronicle*, and we can readily see the aim and intentions of the writer, bearing in mind that he was in the interest of the Latin church, and that he was desirous to write a history, or what was then called a history, suited to the times, to keep down the lurking evil of Druidism, to promote union among the Britons, by omitting all mention of their several ancient states and communities, which had been a prominent topic in Ptolemy, Ravennas, and Antoninus, and to supersede former accounts which might tend to keep alive the old associations connected with the ideas above alluded to, and by so doing to continue the errors of his countrymen.

An examination of our *Chronicle* will show us that the whole tenor of it is conformable to this. All mention of paganism, the sacrifices of the heathen, and the rites and ceremonies of the Druids, is carefully avoided; in the like way the existence of various states and communities in ancient Britain is studiously passed over. Their international wars, and the immigration of foreign tribes are entirely overlooked. There never were such people in this island according to the *Chronicle* as the Brigantes, Icenî, Silures, Demetæ, or Belgæ, and why? The author was no ethnologist it is evident, and thought it best, as before remarked, to keep this point out of sight, and rather to exhibit the Britons as one people and race like any other nation in Europe. Similarly the former subjection to the Romans in the times of the ancient empire is misrepresented and disguised; and there is a strong effort to exhibit it merely as a species of political influence, in the same kind of way that the domination of the Romish church was a species of spiritual influence in later times. There is besides an endeavour to make the history of Britain, or Cambria, as it was then in fact (for the author did not trouble himself about Anglo-Saxon affairs, except where they clashed with those of the Britons), as like the history of other European nations as possible. Add to this, as much romance as could be connected with the various subjects was introduced to meet the peculiar taste of the times. The predilection was strong for this species of spicery, and the dish was seasoned accordingly.

The above few observations will truly set forth the tenor, nature, and purpose of this primary *Chronicle of the Cambrians*. Something, however, is required to be said as to whence the materials from which the *Chronicle* was composed were derived. On this topic the answer must be unsatisfactory, as we can trace next to nothing. The early line of kings in it was taken, as there is but little doubt, from metrical genealogies, which are believed to have been common enough in the earlier parts of the middle ages among the Celts, but whence the remaining parts of the *Chronicle* were taken is now unknown. Various passages assimilating to other passages in the old historians Gildas and Nennius on examination will be found to have no other affinity than being derived from some common source, and

these passages are very few, the sources from which by far the major part of the work is derived being latent. It is in Welsh and considered to be elegantly written; and besides what has been before observed it is notable for another special point, that setting aside the portions which are obviously fable or romance, and referring to those which profess to be history, it cannot be ascertained for the most part whether the narratives it gives be true or false.

Thus much of this *Chronicle*, which, as a species of pivoting point of our literature, is well deserving notice; a few more words may, however, be still required.

In regard to its author; it is attributed to a person named Tysilio and passes under his name, solely however, because it is prefixed to the copy now in Jesus College, Oxford, and formerly belonging to Margam Abbey, in Wales. This Tysilio of course could not have been the person of that name, the son of Brochvael, who lived at a much earlier period, but must have been some one else. The fortunes of the work after being first published were somewhat singular. It lay in a manner dormant and but little known, as it should seem, for more than a century, when a copy of it came to notice accidentally in Britany, and being placed in the hands of Geoffrey of Monmouth he translated it, and embellished it very considerably after his manner; and I may here note a little what he did. For instance, he introduced many romancing narratives, and added a whole book of prophecies, which are called the prophecies of Merlin, and have but little connexion with the subject. At other times he merely dilates the narrative with various additional circumstances and details. Besides this he altered the form of the whole of the proper names, frequently varied the sense of his author, and introduced numerous conjectural emendations, not as notes, but inserted them into the text. In short, he supplies a specimen of a twelfth century editor; and the work thus altered and concocted is called the *British History of Geoffrey of Monmouth*. As such, it made the greatest sensation in those times; its effect on literature is acknowledged to have been great, and almost innumerable chronicles were formed from it, the names of which, even of those that are known, compose much too long a series to attempt to give them here.

The original manuscript, or an early copy of it, giving the text as before it was re-edited by Geoffrey of Monmouth, and with the heading, as before said, assigning the authorship to Tysilio, is still in the library of Jesus College, Oxford. It forms part of a volume which is called the *Red Book of Hergest*, which, besides some other historical pieces, contains a romance or two.

It only remains further to say, that the manuscript lay nearly as dormant in the recesses of Jesus College, Oxford, as it had done anciently in Britany, when Wynne, in his *History of Wales*, proclaimed it, in the year 1697, to be the primary and original *Chronicle*. Still it was but little quoted or noticed till it was printed in the year 1807, in the second volume of the *Mynyrian Archaiology*, and afterwards translated into English, and published in quarto, in 1811. It now forms the work usually quoted and referred to instead of that of Geoffrey of Monmouth.

I have thus given the real details and explanation of this subject. I am aware that these views have been controverted by some; as Cambrian literature has been much attacked and disparaged since the beginning of the present century, arising from contests among literary men, not now necessary to allude to. Some, as Mr. Ritson and others, have supposed that the Jesus College copy, instead of being the original, is merely a compilation itself from the work of Geoffrey of Monmouth; to which it can only be observed, that such scepticism is not now justifiable, since the publication of Tysilio's original in 1807 and 1811. The objection will bear no critical scrutiny or sifting. Besides, it is obvious that the *Chronicle* could not have been originally written for the objects it was obviously intended to encompass at the date of Geoffrey of Monmouth, in the middle of the twelfth century.

It will be understood that these few observations are merely a statement of the question respecting the *Chronicle*, as I have necessarily left many points unexplained, from the brevity which I have studied.

ON THE "ILLYFR TEILO", OR THE *LIBER LANDAVENSIS*, THE BOOK OF LLANDAFF.

BY W. H. BLACK, ESQ., LATE ASSISTANT-KEEPER OF PUBLIC RECORDS.

So much of the fabulous and romantic has been handed down in the histories, poetry, and traditions of the ancient Britons, even of those who lived within the historic period of this country, that all documentary evidence of events or transactions between the retreat of the Romans from Britain, and the Norman conquest, must be deemed highly valuable, both to distinguish the fabulous from the true, and to furnish the necessary links of information in the chain of history and chronology, through the darkest part of the middle ages.

In England, until the period when our public records and private evidences begin, the principal documents which were committed to writing are found chiefly to consist of the foundation deeds of cathedrals and monasteries, with other entries made in the registers, gospel-books, and liturgies, of ancient ecclesiastical establishments. These, although in some few instances contemporary with the transactions that they record, yet in most instances have been transcribed into books from original materials long since lost in the decay of ages. As this was the case in England, so also in Wales, the few ancient documents that have come down to our time are chiefly those which, early in the twelfth century, were collected and transcribed, at Llandaff, into a volume called by the Welsh the "*Illyfr Teilo*", and quoted by the antiquaries of the seventeenth century under the name of *Liber Landavensis*, the Book of Llandaff, or the old "Register of the Church of Llandaff." That book is said to have been a folio volume, written on vellum, three inches thick, having a figure of St. Teilo, in brass, on the cover. The original seems to have remained in possession of the see of Llandaff until the civil wars, having been quoted by sir Henry Spelman in his *Concilia*;

by Dr. Francis Godwin, bishop of Llandaff, in his succession of the bishops, contained in his celebrated work, *De Præsulibus Angliæ*; by archbishop Ussher, Brian Twyne of Oxford, and others, both in their published works and in their manuscript collections. When Dugdale compiled his *Monasticon*, he made copious extracts from the original manuscript, which was then in the possession of his learned friend John Selden, of whose library it formed part at his death in 1654. Although his executors designed to deposit it, with his other manuscripts, in the Bodleian Library, this precious book was sent into Wales, at the earnest entreaty of the celebrated Welsh antiquary, Robert Vaughan of Hêngwrt, to be transcribed by him; and its existence has not with certainty been traced since.

The great value of the materials for the civil and ecclesiastical history of Wales, and indeed of early Christianity in Britain, which had been derived from this celebrated book, gave rise to numerous inquiries after the original volume in later times; and its paramount importance made the publication of this ancient record an object of extreme interest to the projectors of "The Welsh Manuscript Society"; consequently an edition of the original text, in Latin and Welsh, from the most authentic sources that could be procured, and accompanied with an English translation, constituted the first work published by that public-spirited body. It issued from the elegant press of William Rees of Llandovery, in 1840, forming a large and handsome octavo volume of six hundred and forty pages.

It having been determined to use, for the purpose of that publication, a transcript of the seventeenth century, preserved in the library of Jesus college, Oxford, the writer of this paper was requested by his friend the rev. John Jones (Tegid) to furnish a copy of that manuscript for the intended editor, the late learned and lamented professor Rees, of Llampeter college. The manuscript was, however, found to have been so inaccurately written, as to require unusual labour in preparing a correct copy; the writer, therefore, exerted his utmost ability to restore the text by means of conjectural emendation, and the collation of all quotations from the record which he could find in printed books or manuscripts at Oxford. During the progress of that operation professor Rees died, and the editorship was

confided to his uncle, the rev. W. J. Rees, rector of Cascob, who executed the task with the greatest industry and faithfulness; and the writer has the satisfaction of finding that his own critical labours were highly valued by the editor, who, having subsequently collated a transcript at Rûg, made by Robert Vaughan, found it (as he says) "to confirm many of Mr. Black's suggested emendations", and adds, that "Mr. Black's suggestions were, in some cases, still more correct than either" of those transcripts.

While the work was passing through the press, the writer had an opportunity of inspecting the manuscript at Rûg, and found, to his astonishment, that Robert Vaughan had taken the pains of engrossing it on vellum, in imitation of the original manuscript; and he must here repeat the opinion which he had given of it to the editor, "that it was the best written fac-simile, for its extent, that he had ever seen, and that, though it resembled Miss Elstob's famous copy from the *Textus Roffensis* (a similar manuscript), it was a greater task, being a very large volume."¹ Several lithographed fac-similes of the Vaughan manuscript are given by the editor, which have all the appearance of being taken from a genuine ancient manuscript, except a certain fineness of detail and finish, in which the writers of ancient manuscripts far excelled the moderns.

For a particular account of the literary history of the work, recourse must be had to the editor's elaborate introduction; reserving, therefore, a point or two to be hereafter noticed, let us proceed to consider the contents of the record itself. These may be generally described under the following heads:

- I. Lives or legends of saints connected with Llandaff.
 - II. Early ecclesiastical history.
 - III. Charters, grants, and privileges, of the church of Llandaff, from the fifth or sixth to the eleventh century.
 - IV. Papal briefs and bulls in favour of the church of Llandaff.
 - V. Transactions of the see in the time of bishop Urban and his predecessor.
1. *Lives or legends of saints.* These are five in number.
- (1). The volume begins without a title or rubric, and its

¹ Preface, p. xxviii.

first article is an account of ELGAR the hermit, a native of Devonshire, who was captured by pirates, and sold as a slave into Ireland, where he served as executioner in the court of Restri, or Roderic, grandson of Conchor. Gaining liberty, he went to sea, and was shipwrecked on the isle of Enli (which is called by the Welsh *Ynys Enlli* “the island of the current”, and by the English, Bardsey Island), at the extremity of Caernarvonshire. This legend says that it was called the “Rome of Britain”, twenty thousand bodies of saints, both confessors and martyrs, lying buried there. The legend describes an interview between him and master Caratocus (Caradog), his manner of life, his solitary death, and his burial by sailors. The only connexion between him and Llandaff appears to have been that, when the remains of archbishop Dubricius were removed from that island (7 May, 1120), the teeth of this saint were translated to the cathedral at the same time; an account of which event concludes the narrative. (2). The life of Saint SAMSON, archbishop of Dôl, in Brittany, whose parents were of royal descent in Ireland, and besought Dubricius, archbishop of West Britain (or Wales), for the obtaining of progeny. This life abounds with the strangest legends mingled with real history, and is exceedingly interesting. These two narratives occupy twenty-five pages of the printed copy, and are followed by matters which fall under other classes, as far as p. 75,—where begin (3) “Lessons from the Life of Saint DUBRICIUS.” This personage, commonly called Saint Dyfryg, and who is elsewhere¹ said to have been consecrated by Saints Germanus and Lupus, was the first bishop of Llandaff. His mother was the daughter of Pepiau, king of Ergyng (or Archenfield); and the peculiar circumstances of his birth (at a place ever since called *Matlle*, or Madley, in Herefordshire); the famous college, or school, that he established at Mochros (now Moccas), on the Wye; and his retirement to Bardsey Island, where he died, are the principal subjects of the narration. It concludes with a marvellous account of the translation of his bones to Llandaff, with great pomp, on Friday, 7 May, Sunday, 23 May, and Wednesday, 2 June, 1120, after he had been buried five or six hundred years. The date of his death is stated in the record thus: “In the year of our

¹ P. 63, in the chapter “On the first state of the church of Llandaff.”

Lord's incarnation 612, Saint Dubricius, bishop of the church of Llandaff, on the 18th of the kalends of December, departed to the Lord."¹ This must, however, be erroneous, as the *Chronicle of Llandaff*, in the Cottonian Library, which gives the same year, 612, as the date of his death, states that he crowned king Arthur at Cirencester in 506. The editor states that his consecration as bishop is variously set down as happening in the year 427, 447, or 470; that he was made archbishop of Caerleon in 490, resigned the bishopric of Llandaff in 512, and the see of Caerleon in 519, and died in 522; which last is far more probable than the date in the text. (4). "The life of Saint TELIAVUS, archbishop of the church of Llandaff." This personage was the disciple and successor of Dubricius, and is said to have been named, in his youth, ἥλιος, the Greek word for the *sun*; for, says the legend, "his doctrine shone as the sun; but illiterate men corruptly pronouncing the word, in process of time he was called, not Helios, but 'Eliud'." The principal matters contained in this life relate to his pretended miraculous consecration at Jerusalem, and to the yellow plague or fever which took off Mailconus (or Maelgwm Gwynedd), the successor of king Arthur, and almost all the population of Wales. To avoid the pestilence, St. Teilo (as he is commonly called), with his clergy, and men, women, and children, emigrated to Cornwall, and thence to Brittany, where he lived some time with St. Samson, until the pestilence ceased. The legend, beside several other strange miracles, declares that, when a dispute arose between the clergy of his three churches, Pennalun, Llandeilo-Fawr, and Llandaff, each of them claiming the honour of his burial, it was settled by the sudden appearance of *three bodies*, in all respects alike: "So peace being restored, each party, with its own corpse, returned homeward; and they buried the different bodies in those several places with the greatest reverence." (5). "The Life of St. OUDOCEUS, archbishop of Llandaff." He was nephew and successor of Teilo; his father was an Armoric, who was at first banished into Wales, and afterward obtained the kingdom of Brittany, having in the mean while married a sister of St. Teilo. This saint, Oudocus, came over with his uncle on the cessation of the yellow

¹ P. 81; see also p. 329, and the editor's notes at pp. 621, 622, 623.

plague, and, having succeeded him, obtained from king Mouricus, or Mewrig, the same privileges as his predecessors had had ; and it appears that a procession was made over all the boundaries of Llandaff, "from Gungleis between the Tâf and Elei, the whole territory as far as the sea", sprinkling holy water, the king carrying the gospel book, preceded by a cross, and followed by the choir and bishop, chanting "*Fiat pax in virtute tua, et abundantia in turribus tuis*," etc.¹ This bishop is also said to have had a diocese extending from Mochros on the Wye, to the island Teithi (which the editor supposes to be Cardigan Island, at the Mouth of the Teivi), until his quarrel with king Catguocaun, or Cadwgan, when South Wales became divided into two dioceses, the river Towy bounding them, as also the two kingdoms of Meurig and Cadwgan. The lands belonging to his church, west of the Towy, were afterward restored to him ; but, by the incursions of the Saxons, he was at length deprived of the eastern part of his diocese, "from Mochros, on the banks of the Wye, on one point, as far as the river Dore on the other, and as far as Gurmuy, and to the mouth of the Taratyr, at the river Wye." The diocese, thus diminished on both sides, is then described, by its boundaries, in Welsh.² The latter part of this life contains an anecdote of Gildas the historian, who, it appears, carried away some of the saint's timber to his hermitage in the island of Echni ; and it concludes thus : "Only a few out of many of the miracles of this holy man, of blessed memory, are committed to writing, because the accounts have been either burnt in conflagrations, or were carried far off in the fleet of exiled citizens ; what, therefore, have been since discovered, and obtained from early monuments of old men, or the most ancient writings, are committed to memory and writing. And his holy and glorious life being completed, with acquiring many lands to himself and to his church of Llandaff, he rested in the Lord on the second day of July." The year of his death is not named in the record, and is unknown.

The lives of the three earliest bishops of Llandaff are severally followed, in the book, by entries of the grants obtained by them and their church, in their respective times, which will be noticed under the third head.

¹ Pp. 125, 372-3.

² Pp. 126-7, 374-5.

II. *Early Ecclesiastical history.* After the legends of Elgar and Samson follow three paragraphs, the first of which gives the number of towers, pinnacles, gates, and posterns, in the walls of Rome, with the extent of its circuit, twenty-two miles; also the names of the principal churches of Rome, and the titles of the cardinal presbyters. The second is a short account of pope Eleutherius, who is therein said to have received a letter from Lucius, king of Britain, desiring to be made a Christian. The third briefly describes the great persecution under Dioclesian and Maximian, which, it says, extended to Britain, where St. Alban suffered martyrdom. It quotes the following verse from Fortunatus, *De Laude Virginum*—

“Albanum egregium fecunda Britannia præfert”;

and adds that “Julius and Aron, with plenty of martyrs, suffered at the City of Legions upon Huisc”, that is, Caereleon (p. 27).

The only other passage to be described under this head is the celebrated chapter or article intitled, “*Of the first state of the church of Llandaff, and the life of archbishop Dubricius*”, which had been already published in the *Monasticon* and the *Anglia Sacra*, by Dugdale and Wharton. It is so interesting, and may be considered so opportune to the objects of this Congress, as to warrant the insertion of the editor’s translation of it in this place :

“In the year of our Lord 156, Lucius, king of the Britons, sent his ambassadors, Elfan and Medwy, to Eleutherius, who was the twelfth pope of the apostolic see, imploring, according to his admonition, that he might be made a Christian; to which request he acceded; for, giving thanks to God because that nation which, from the first inhabiting thereof by Brutus, had been heathens, so ardently desired to embrace the faith of Christ, he, with the advice of the elders of the Roman city, was pleased to cause the ambassadors to be baptized; and, on their embracing the Christian faith, Elfan was ordained a bishop, and Medwy a doctor. Through their eloquence, and the knowledge which they had in the Holy Scriptures, they returned preachers to Lucius, in Britain; by whose holy preaching, Lucius and the nobles of all Britain received baptism, and according to the command of St. Eleutherius, the pope, he

constituted an ecclesiastical order, ordained bishops, and taught the way of leading a good life. Which faith of the Christian religion they preserved free from any stain of erroneous doctrine until the Pelagian heresy arose, to confute which St. Germanus, a bishop, and Lupus, were by the chief clergy of Gaul sent to Britain; for the Britons had often previously sent messengers to them, requesting aid against such dreadful danger, disapproving of, but unable to confute, the wicked doctrines of the heretics.

“After the aforesaid illustrious persons had extirpated the Pelagian heresy, they consecrated bishops in many parts of the island of Britain; and over all the Britons of the southern part they consecrated the eminent doctor, St. Dubricius, who was elected by the king and the whole district to be archbishop. Having received this dignity from Germanus and Lupus, they granted to him, with the consent of king Meurig, and of the princes, clergy, and people, the episcopal see, which was founded in the district of Llandaff, in honour of St. Peter the apostle, with these boundaries: from Henriwgunna to Rhiwffynon, and from Cynlais to the sea, the whole district between the Taff and the Ely, with their fish, and wears for fisheries; and its dignity free from all service, regal and secular, except only daily prayer, and ecclesiastical service for his soul and for the souls of his parents, kings and princes of Britain, and of all the faithful deceased; and with its privileges, without any governor or deputy governor, without attendance at public courts, either within or without the district, without going in military expeditions, without keeping watch over the country, in or out of it, and with free commonage to the inhabitants of the whole diocese, in field and in woods, in water and in pastures, with its court complete within itself, free and entire as a regal court, with its refuge, not for any limited time, but to be perpetual; that is, that the fugitive might remain safe under its protection as long as he should wish; and with the bodies of the kings of the whole diocese of Llandaff given and committed to it for ever. The diocese to have five hundred wards, the bay of Severn, Ergyng, and Anergyng, from Mochros on the banks of the Wye, as far as the island Terthi” (pp. 309-11).

III. *Charters, grants, and privileges, of the church of Llandaff.* With the exception of certain documents, which fall

under the fourth and fifth heads, all the remaining contents of the book consist of transcripts or abstracts (as some of them appear to be) of original instruments which, early in the twelfth century, were extant in the archives of this cathedral. They form a remarkable and most instructive series of territorial and other grants, from the foundation of the see, in the fifth or sixth century, to the eleventh century; and many of them contain historical narratives of great curiosity, relative to the circumstances under which the grants were obtained from princes and other persons. As in almost every instance the bishop occurs foremost among the witnesses, these charters were easily reduced into the order of the succession of the bishops; and this, allowing for some questionable points of chronology, is the method of arrangement observed by the compiler of the *Book of Llandaff*.

The first is a grant of king Peipiau, of Mainaur Garthbenni, to God, to Dubricius, archbishop of Llandaff, and his kinsman Lunapeius, that his name may be written in the book of life; in which it is said that "Peipiau held the inkhorn or pen (grafium) upon the hand of St. Dubricius, that it might be a house of prayer and penitence, and an episcopal place for ever for the bishops of Llandaff; and in testimony, leaving there his three disciples, he consecrated that church." The rubric of this document entitles it "Lann Custenhinn Garthbenni in Ercieg," that is, the church of Constantine at Garthbenni in Archenfield. This Constantine is mentioned in the charter as a king, and father-in-law of king Peipiau. This charter, and eight others of the time of St. Dyfryg, follow immediately after the historical account of the first state of the church, which has been quoted at length, and is followed by the life of the saint, already described.

After the lives of St. Dyfryg and St. Teilo, with some intervening documents of another class, comes the famous privilege of St. Teilo, and of his church of Llandaff, in Latin and old Welsh,¹ followed by a note, supposed to have been written on the margin of the original book, recording the promulgation of the great sentence of excommunication against the invaders of the liberties and privileges of the cathedral, on St. Teilo's day, 1410; with the conse-

¹ Pp. 111-114.



quences thereof, said to have befallen seven persons afterward. The editor has given a modern Welsh copy of this famous document, in a note to his English translation, at pp. 357-8. Seven royal and other grants, of the time of St. Teilo, including a list of the churches given to him, next follow.

After the life of archbishop Oudoceus follow seventy-eight royal and other grants, in the time of that bishop and his successors, to Trichanus inclusively ; all which, in the manuscript, have the names of those bishops inscribed as running titles over the pages, in the order of their succession.

Of bishop Elvogus there is only a note stating that he followed Trichanus, in the time of four sons of king Glevissieg (p. 196).

Thirteen grants, in the times of bishops Catguaret and Cerenhir, follow (pp. 197-207).

The next entry is only, "Nobis, the nineteenth bishop."

Next follow twenty-four grants made in the times of bishop Pater and his three successors. The second of these has the rare distinction of a date. It begins, "in the year from the nativity of the Lord 955, indiction 13", which correspondence is correct. The story which it relates is a singular one, and it contains, or is in itself the act of a "synod" (p. 209). At the end of these charters is a note of the death of bishop Civeilliauc, in 927. His name is twice misprinted *Cimeilliauc* in that place.

Then follow two grants to bishop Libian, with a note of his death in 929 ; and four grants to bishop Gucanus, with an account of his consecration by archbishop Dunstan, in the royal court of king Edgar in 982 ; also a mere note of bishop Marchluid, stating in whose time he lived.

Next follows a grant to bishop Bledri, with a curious document relative to the seven cantreds of Morcannuc, and to the contemporaneousness of king Edgar with the British kings Huwel Da and Morgan Hên, the original of which was said to be perishing with age: it has been printed in the *Concilia* by Spelman and Wilkins.

Then come, a grant in the time of bishop Joseph, and another in the time of bishop Bledri, with a note of the election of bishop Bledri by the kings of Morcannuc therein named in 983, his consecration in the court of

Adelred by archbishop Albricus, and his death in 1022 (p. 241). The editor has translated and understood this passage as if it were an "election of kings", rather than *by kings*, as the passage seems to import.

Then follow, a notice of the election and consecration of bishop Joseph by archbishop Ælnoð, in the court of Cnut in 1022, and of his death; also a statement of the confirmation of the privileges of the church of Llandaff by Riderch ap Jestin, king of Morcannue, with a list of the thirty-seven possessions of that church (pp. 242-44); also ten grants in the time of bishop Joseph.

Lastly, six grants in the time of bishop Herwaldus, who, as appears by the next entry, lived in the times of Edward the Confessor and William the Conqueror. See the 5th head.

iv. *Papal briefs and bulls.* Of these are no fewer than thirty-eight placed between the lives of Samson and Dyfryg, but of a much later date, having been all procured by bishop Urban from pope Honorius II, in 1128 and 1129 (pp. 30-46, 51, 52), and from pope Innocent II, in or about 1131. Two of these bulls have the *rota* of the Roman Chancery expressed in fac-simile. After the life of St. Dyfryg, are five bulls and briefs of pope Calixtus II, one of which has the *rota* in like manner.

v. *Episcopal Transactions in the times of bishops Herwald and Urban.* The first of these which occurs is a curious concord or deed of covenants, made in 1126, between bishop Urban and Robert Consul or earl of Gloucester, concerning their respective jurisdictions and rights: it was made in the presence of king Henry I, and numerous peers, spiritual and temporal, whose names are given as witnesses (pp. 27-30).

Among the bulls, may be found an exhortation by the pope's legate for aid to be given to the church of Llandaff; a summons of William, archbishop of Canterbury, for a council at London, and the chapters or decrees of that council; also memorials of bishop Urban's two journeys to Rome on the affairs of his see, after the council of London (pp. 46-51).

At the end of St. Dyfryg's life, is an account of the translation of his relics to Llandaff, which gave occasion, it is said, in the year 1120 (though there is some difficulty

attending this date), for the rebuilding of the church. To the precise description of the old one, as given at pp. 82, 83, the attention of the Congress is particularly requested: it is said to have been twenty-eight feet long, fifteen feet broad, twenty feet high, with two small wings at the sides, and *with a round porch* twelve feet long and broad. This last feature may be very important, if thereby the round towers of churches in this country can be assigned to the British period. The passage is also important as determining the date of the erection of the stately cathedral, which has since fallen into a lamentable state of decay.¹

The next documents are a letter from Ralph, archbishop of Canterbury, imploring aid for the rebuilding of Llandaff cathedral; bishop Urban's requisition to pope Calixtus at Rheims, relative to the wrongs suffered by his church, and a notice of the council holden there (pp. 83-85); also the canons of the council of Rheims (pp. 90-92).

The last entries in the volume (pp. 263-268) describe the churches consecrated and priests ordained in Archenfield by bishop Herwald, in the times of Edward the Confessor, Harold, and William the Conqueror; also how that bishop held his see at the time of the conquest, and the names of the priests subject to his jurisdiction. Then follows a record of his death, 6th March, 1104; and after an interval exceeding four years, the consecration of bishop Urban at Canterbury, 11th August, 1107, which entry ends abruptly.

These last documents will be found of great *architectural* importance: for instance, the fine church at Kilpeck seems to identify itself with "Cilpedec", which is said at p. 264 to have been consecrated by bishop Herwald, in the time of king William.

¹ The visit of the Association to the cathedral of Llandaff gave great satisfaction to the members. It is now under restoration by able architects, superintended by a dean whose information and taste alike qualify him to secure an ample and proper renovation of the sacred edifice.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE TOWN AND
CASTLE OF CHEPSTOW.

BY THOMAS WAKEMAN, ESQ.

THE present name of the town and castle is so obviously an Anglo Saxon appellation, simply signifying a market place, as to require no observation. I will, therefore, merely remark, that in the older records it was never applied to the castle, but only to the town ; whenever mentioned together, we always read *castrum de Strogail, et villa de Chepstow* ; in no deed or record before the reign of Henry VI, about the middle of the fifteenth century, do we find *castrum et villa de Chepstow*. On the other hand, the name of Strugul is occasionally applied to the town as well as to the castle, *Strogael castrum et burgus*. This old name of Strogail or Strugul is still retained in the court rolls of the manor, which is styled the manor of *Strugul alias Chepstow*. Most local appellations in Wales and the Marches have been strangely corrupted, and it is seldom that we find one correctly written. The Norman scribe of *Domesday* wrote the name of this place *Estrighoel* ; in subsequent records we find it *Strighoel*, *Stroghoel*, and *Strugul*, with some other occasional variations in the orthography. English tourists, and the compilers of guide books, have favoured the public with a variety of exceedingly absurd etymologies of this name, seeming to forget that some little acquaintance with the Welsh language is a necessary qualification when endeavouring to interpret a Welsh name, as also some knowledge of the locality and its ancient history. It would be a waste of time to enumerate all the absurdities that have been written on this subject. Antiquaries are generally agreed that the Roman road called *Strata Julia*, crossed the Wye at or near Chepstow. Whether the Welsh word *Ystrad* be an adoption of the Latin *Strata*, or the latter be derived from the Celtic, is immaterial ; it is sufficient that *Strata Julia* is correctly expressed in Welsh by *Ystrad-Iwl* (pronounced *Ustrad-*

ccool), and that the *castellum de Estrighoel* of *Domesday*, the *Strigoel*, *Strogoel*, and *Strugul* of later records, are several successive corruptions of the Welsh *castel Ystrad Iwl*, meaning simply the castle on the *Strata Julia*. That this is the correct interpretation, and that it was so understood in the twelfth century, is confirmed by the words of an ancient annotator upon the Saxon poet Necham, quoted by Leland:¹ “*Strata Julia cujus pontem construxit Julius quod vulgo Strigolium dicitur.*” The bridge here alluded to, which this old author tells us was constructed by Julius Frontinus upon the road named after him, and vulgarly called Strigul, there can be no doubt stood above the castle, immediately below the alcove in Piercefield Park.

A learned gentleman, in an article published in the *Archæologia*, has doubted the existence of this bridge; the fact is, however, well established. The road leading to it across the inclosures above the castle, was very visible a few years ago, and may still be traced, although nearly obliterated by a late tenant of the land; but where it descended to the river, cut out of the almost perpendicular cliff, it will remain as long as the rock itself endures, a lasting monument of Roman engineering skill, and were it cleared of the bushes which obstruct it, might be used as a road now. Half a century ago the foundations of the piers and abutments of this bridge were very visible at low water, and perhaps are at present, but some years have passed since I visited the spot. Near to it, on the Gloucestershire side, stood the little chapel of St. David. Part of the walls, with the lower portion of the east window and the entrance door, were standing within my remembrance. All traces of it have now disappeared, and even the site is known but to few of the present generation. The paved road across the inclosures on this side has also been destroyed; further on, the Roman road, from the nature of the country, could not have deviated very widely from the course of the turnpike road to Gloucester; not many years ago a portion of the ancient pavement existed quite perfect, extending a considerable distance, at the side of the latter, in the parish of Tidenham; the stones have, however, been broken up and used for repairs. The name of the village of *Stroat*, is evidently derived from *Strata*; in fine, the

¹ Itinerary, vol. ix, f. 101.

road is popularly called *the Street* nearly all the way to Gloucester. To secure this passage over the rapid river Wye must have been a matter of much importance, and it does not appear at all probable that the Roman general neglected to defend it.

Those of our associates who have examined the castle this morning, will no doubt have observed rows of Roman bricks in the wall of that part commonly, although perhaps improperly, called the chapel. I cannot help thinking that the Anglo-Norman castle was built on the site of the old Roman fortification, of which, it may be, the wall in question is the only portion remaining. I am by no means disposed to place any great reliance upon ancient traditions, yet they are not altogether to be rejected in our inquiries, however absurd they may at first sight appear; that which attributes the erection of the castle to Julius Cæsar, which I have heard a hundred times repeated, may be only a mistake in the person of Julius Frontinus.

No Roman antiquities have ever been discovered at Chepstow that I am aware of, nor is there any reason to suppose that a town existed on this spot prior to the Norman conquest. Two grants to the bishop are recorded in the *Liber Llandavensis*, which include, according to the described boundaries, which are very well defined, the whole of the present town, which at that time—the sixth century—appears to have been open land, without even a house upon it. If any British town at all existed in the neighbourhood, it was probably at Hardwick, where there is a strongly fortified post upon the summit of a lofty cliff on the bank of the Wye, which bounds it on the east side. A deep ravine, running at right angles to the river, forms a natural defence on the south; a double rampart and ditches, in the form of a bow, complete the camp. Soon after the Norman conquest, William Fitz-Osbern was created earl of Hereford and governor of the Marches, and we learn from *Domesday* that he built the castle of Estrig-hoiel. This was probably little more than a small fort. He was killed in Flanders in 1070. His son Roger succeeded him; but in 1075, having been engaged in an insurrection, his estates were forfeited to the crown, and he was imprisoned for life.

It was next given to William de Owe, who was in pos-

session at the time of the great survey; but he also forfeited his estates for rebellion against William Rufus in 1096, and Strogail was given to Richard de Clare. All these early lords were related to the Conqueror. Richard de Clare died in 1114 and was succeeded by Gilbert Strongbow, called De Tonbridge, brother of Walter, the founder of Tintern abbey: he died in 1142: his son, Gilbert Strongbow, was created earl of Pembroke by king Stephen in 1139, and died 1148. He was buried at Tintern, and if the mutilated effigy there be intended for one of this family, he may be the person. He was the only Strongbow who is known to have been buried in the abbey. I would, however, beg to observe, that Strongbow was a family designation common to all the early Clares, and not, as is very commonly supposed, confined to Richard, the son of this earl, who succeeded him, went to Ireland, and died there in 1177, and was buried in Christchurch, Dublin. Another of the Strongbows was buried in the abbey of Gloucester. Isabella, the daughter and heiress of Richard Strongbow, was an infant at her father's death, and her wardship was granted to Patrick de Cadourcis, who held Chepstow as her guardian in 33rd Henry II and 6th of Richard I. She married William Marshal the elder, who was created earl of Pembroke, and died in 1219. He was succeeded by his five sons in succession, William, Richard, Gilbert, Walter, and Anselm, who all died without issue. The estates became divisible among their five sisters, and upon partition Chepstow was allotted to the eldest, Maud, widow of Hugh Bygod, earl of Norfolk. She died in 1248. Roger Bygod, her son, died without issue in 1269, upon which the estate passed to his nephew, Roger Bygod, son of his brother Hugh, as heir-at-law. In 1302 he surrendered all his lands, with the earldom of Norfolk and office of marshal, to king Edward I, and took a regrant to himself and Alice his wife for life, and their issue, with remainder in default of issue to the king. He died without issue in 1305, and the estates went to the king.

In 1307 John Cromwell had the custody of the castle of Strugoyl, with the chases and appurtenances to the same castle belonging, and the town of Chepstowe, to hold during pleasure. This is the earliest record in which I have

found the name of Chepstow. On 16th December, 1312, king Edward II gave the castle and estate to his brother Thomas de Brotherton, who in 1324 gave it to Hugh le Despenser for life, upon whose execution in November 1326 it reverted. In October 1326 William de Tracey, sheriff of Gloucestershire, was ordered to victual the castle of Strogail for defence against the queen and Mortimer, which was done, and provisions to the value of £24: 15s. sent in and delivered to Roger Barnard, who was probably the governor. The king himself was there shortly after, and embarked on board a vessel, intending to go to Lundy Island. Many of his household went to Bristol and joined the queen.

Upon the death of Thomas de Brotherton in 1338 his widow, Mary, countess of Norfolk, held the castle and manor, and died seized in 1362, upon which they reverted to the crown; but were immediately granted to sir Walter Manny and Margaret his wife, eldest daughter of Thomas de Brotherton by his first wife, and widow of lord Seagrave. It is singular that no memorial, traditional or otherwise, of this extraordinary character and famous warrior should have been preserved in Chepstow, which he held for ten years. He died in 1373.

John de Hastynges, earl of Pembroke and lord of Abergavenny, was the next lord, in right of his wife, Ann, daughter of sir Walter Manny, subject, however, to her mother's dower. The earl died without issue by this lady, who was his second wife. Margaret lady Manny died in 1399. Her grandson, Thomas Mowbray, son of her daughter Elizabeth by her first husband, lord Seagrave, was created earl of Nottingham, earl marshal, and afterwards duke of Norfolk by king Richard II, and held the castle manor till his death in 1400 at Venice, whither he had been banished for treason. His sons, Thomas and John, were both under age; the eldest died in his minority. John came of age in 1413, and in the 3rd Henry VI was restored to his title of duke of Norfolk. He died in 1432, and his son John, who succeeded him in the estates, died 1461.

John Mowbray, duke of Norfolk, etc., son of the last, in the 8th Edward IV, exchanged the castle and manor of Chepstow and the manor of Tidenham with sir William

Herbert, the first earl of Pembroke of that family, for other manors in Surrey and Suffolk; and as this exchange was made at the request of the king, he granted to the duke the same extensive rights and privileges in the manors he received as those he had enjoyed at Chepstow.

The earl of Pembroke held the estate but a few months, being beheaded at Banbury in July 1469. His son William surrendered the earldom of Pembroke, and was created earl of Huntingdon. He died in 1491, leaving an only daughter, Elizabeth, who married sir Charles Somerset, the first earl of Worcester, who, however, did not immediately succeed to the estate, which was held by her uncle, sir Walter Herbert, of Caldicot, during his life. Upon his decease in 1507 the earl of Worcester held it in right of his wife, and from him it has descended to the present duke of Beaufort.

The earl of Worcester granted a new charter of incorporation to the burgesses of the town. The principal officers of the corporation were the steward of the lord, two bailiffs chosen by the burgesses, sergeants at mace, etc. This seems to have been acted upon down to the time of Charles II, when, owing to some dispute between the duke of Beaufort and the burgesses no bailiffs were chosen, and the corporation ceased to exist.

In this charter, which bears date 2nd Dec., 16 Hen. VIII, 1524, the earl recites that he had rebuilt the town gate, and gives it to the burgesses for a prison. This was the only gate of entrance into the town, which was defended by a strong wall from a very early period. Leland describes it as extending from the great bridge over the Wye, to the castle. This could not mean the bridge before noticed, above the castle, nor a bridge on the site of the present one, but of one lower down the river, where, when arch-deacon Coxe visited the town, the remains of the foundations were visible at low water, at the end of the town, or, as popularly termed, the port walls. Roads led to this spot on both sides the river; that on the Gloucestershire side is marked in the ordnance maps "*Roman road*", and led directly across the isthmus of Beachley to the Severn, where, no doubt, there was a passage. The walls are still perfect, except where broken through by the railway. They began, as Leland correctly states, at the great bridge

over the Wye, and are in length about half a mile, defended at irregular distances by ten semicircular bastion towers, besides the town gate, and terminating in a quadrangular tower opposite the upper or western entrance to the castle, to which it seems to have been connected by a slighter wall across the natural ravine, which answers the purpose of a moat. There are no traces of any fortifications on the river side, which was probably considered a sufficient defence. The area enclosed is ninety-two acres, exclusive of the castle, which stands upon two acres and a quarter. This is much larger than any other town in the country ; but there are no reasons to suppose that one half of this large space was ever built upon. From the oldest documents in which the streets and lanes are mentioned, they appear to have been the same some centuries ago as they are now.

At the breaking out of the civil wars, Chepstow castle was garrisoned by the marquis of Worcester, for the king. In 1643, major Throckmorton and a party from Monmouth took it by surprise ; but, in a few hours, the major was surprised in his turn, and it was again in the hands of the royalists. In October 1645, it was surrendered to colonel Morgan, governor of Gloucester, after a siege, or rather blockade, of four days. In May 1648, sir Nicholas Kemeys and some other gentlemen of the county, having entered into correspondence with an officer in the garrison, were admitted in the night, and after a slight opposition got possession of the place. On the 10th May 1648, Cromwell marched hither from Monmouth, obtained possession of the town without difficulty, and summoned the castle to surrender ; which was refused by sir Nicholas Kemeys, the governor. Cromwell being unprovided with artillery, continued his march into South Wales, leaving colonel Ewer in command of a detachment of troops before the castle. On the 25th May, having procured two cannons from Gloucester, and two more from on board a ship, he, in the course of a few hours, breached the wall, or, as the colonel writes, “ made a hole in it so low that a man might walk into it”. The garrison, it seems, wished to surrender, but the governor absolutely refused. Colonel Ewer appears to have acted with great forbearance on the occasion, and ceased firing. Sir Nicholas, however, continued obstinate,

till at length the soldiers, irritated and annoyed, without waiting for orders, rushed in at the breach. The governor and another officer were killed in the courtyard, and the place taken. The breach was in the curtain wall, between Harry Marten's tower and the next above, and is still discernible, from the difference in the masonry where the damage has been repaired. A garrison was kept up in the castle till the beginning of the last century, consisting of a company of foot; at what time it was discontinued I have not precisely discovered. The castle was afterwards let to a company, who converted the great hall into a glass manufactory! The roof and floors of Marten's tower fell down only a few years ago. The rooms in this tower were spacious and airy; and the first floor, in the memory of the last generation, was used as an assembly room, and for public meetings. It is much to be regretted that it was suffered to fall into decay. A trifling outlay in keeping the roof in repair would have preserved it.

Several old houses in the town of considerable pretensions have disappeared within these few years, having been taken down or concealed by modern additions. Besides the Priory church there were several chapels, of which the remains of St. Ewin's alone exist at present, but these having been converted into two dwelling-houses, and modern windows introduced, it now offers no external appearance of a religious edifice. It was of considerable size, and within my own recollection stood alone, with the crosses on the gables and many of the windows perfect. Nothing is known of its history, but from its dimensions, I conjecture that before the reformation it may have been the parish church, and only ceased to be so after the dissolution of the monasteries, when that of the priory was appropriated to parochial purposes, as was the case in other places.

I have already noticed two bridges which at some time existed here, the one above the castle and the other at the end of the portwalls; both were in ruins in Leland's time, whose account, however, is very confused and contradictory and not easily reconciled, indeed so much so as to excite a suspicion that he may have written his notice of Chepstow from the information of others, and not from that derived by his own personal observation. When he

says the walls of the town began at the great bridge over the Wye and extended to the castle, he plainly alludes to the lower bridge, and the statement that "*the castle stands strong and fayr not far from the ruins of the bridge*", could only be true of the bridge above. Then in another place he says, "*there is no bridge beneath Monmouth to the very mouth of the Wye. There was one of tymbre at Chepstow.*" At all events the evidence of the existence of two bridges is conclusive, but whether they were contemporaneous or not is uncertain. An act of parliament was passed in 18th Elizabeth, and another 3rd James I, for the repair or rebuilding of Chepstow bridge. It appears to have been under these acts that a new site was chosen, and a bridge erected on the present site as more convenient, as it undoubtedly is, for the inhabitants of the town than either of the old ones. It was of wood, like its predecessors, except the foundations, or starlings as they were termed, of the piers and abutments. This was removed in 1816, and the present iron bridge erected in its place.

ON THE TOWN, CASTLE, AND PRIORY OF USK.

BY THOMAS WAKEMAN, ESQ.

THE distances of this place from Isca Silurum, Gobannium, and Blestium, prove it to have been the BURRIUM of the Itinerary. This name is apparently derived from the Welsh *Bwr*, an intrenchment, with a Latin termination. The course of the Roman road from hence to Blestium, at or near Monmouth, is recognised by the Welsh term *Y Clawdd*, being applied to what is called the old road to that place, as it is to other Roman roads in different parts of the country. No Roman remains have been discovered there, if we except a few coins found in digging the foundations of the new prison. I am not at all convinced that every place mentioned in the

Itinerary was a town. Burrium was evidently the point at which the road from Isca divided into two branches, one of which led to Gobannium and the other to Blestium; such a place must have had a name, although there may have been no town, nor even a village there. If I am correct in the etymology of the name, it is probable there was a small British post on the site of the castle. There are several British camps in the neighbourhood, but none near enough to have been the one which gave name to the station. The Welsh call the town *Bryn Buga*, from *Bryn*, a hill, and *Buches*, a fold for cows; which intimates that on the hill on which the castle stands (for no other could be meant), there was an intrenched inclosure for the protection of the cattle,—the only riches the British possessed, and which I infer was the *Bwr* in question, including no doubt the huts of the herdsmen. It is probable that many of the lost stations of Antonine were mere names of places necessarily mentioned in the description of the roads, but not towns.

Soon after the Norman conquest, William Fitz-Osbern, the king's lieutenant in the Marches, reduced this part of the country to subjection, which had till then been under the dominion of its own native princes; and that he held Usk seems evident, from his having given lands within the lordship to the abbey of Lyra.

At the time of the great survey, Turstan Fitz-Rolfe, the Conqueror's standard-bearer, held a large estate described as extending from the Wye to the Usk, and partly beyond the Usk. Although no name is given to his lands, I have no hesitation in identifying them with the lordship of Usk, which alone of all the lordship Marchers did extend from Wye to Usk, and to a considerable distance beyond the Usk. Turstan died without issue, and the lordship was given to Richard de Clare, in whose time the castle is mentioned; and as no such building is noticed in *Domesday*, it was probably erected by him, or perhaps we should say he completed what had been begun by his predecessor; for as Caerleon was then, and continued for a century afterwards, in possession of the Welsh, it is difficult to conceive that there was not some sort of fortification here from an earlier period, to secure the possession and keep their restless neighbours in check.

Richard de Clare and his son, Gilbert Strongbow, founded the Priory. From the Strongbows the castle passed, by marriage with the heiress, to the Marshalls, and from them by marriage to the Clares, earls of Gloucester and Hertford. The last of these, Gilbert de Clare, was killed at Bannockburn in 1314, and left no issue. The estates were now divided between his three sisters as co-heiresses. Eleanor was the wife of Hugh le Despenser, junior; Margaret married Piers Gaveston, and, secondly, Hugh de Audeley; and Elizabeth married, first, John de Burgh, earl of Ulster, secondly, Theobald de Verdun, and lastly, Roger d'Amory. Upon partition of the estates, Usk, Caerleon, and other manors, were awarded to Elizabeth; Le Despenser, however, compelled her to exchange them with him for manors in Glamorgan, not however without great opposition on her part, and a spirited protest against it. By favour of the king the favourite succeeded, and held them till his death in 1326. The following year Edward III restored them to the lady De Burgh, as she always styled herself, notwithstanding her subsequent marriages. She died at an advanced age about the year 1360. Her son William having died before her, the estates descended to his daughter Elizabeth, wife of Lionel, duke of Clarence; their only daughter, Philippa, carried them to her husband, Edmund Mortimer, earl of March, who was succeeded by his son Roger and grandson Edmund, upon whose death without issue in 1424, Usk, etc., went to Richard, duke of York, son of his sister Ann. It is said that the castle was a favourite residence of the duke, and his sons Edward IV and Richard III were born there. Upon the death of the latter it was in possession of Henry VII, who in 1493 gave it to his son Arthur, prince of Wales. In 1545 Henry VIII granted it to his queen, Katherine Parr, in dower; upon her death it reverted to Edward VI, and was granted to William, earl of Pembroke. With Charlotte, daughter and heiress of Philip Herbert, the seventh earl of this family, it passed to her husband, Thomas viscount Windsor; their son, Herbert lord Windsor, sold it in 1750 to lord Clive, from whom it was purchased by the duke of Beaufort, in whose family it now remains.

The last resident lord of Usk was probably Edward IV,

before he came to the crown; a survey and valuation made in April 1550, previous to the grant to William Herbert, earl of Pembroke, states that the castle was then in such a state of ruin and decay that it was worth nothing, and that the herbage of the courts was claimed by the officers (steward and constable) as their perquisite. A part adjoining the entrance gate was long used as a farm house. The gateway itself is now taken in, and forms part of a private residence, and is no longer the entrance to the castle.

USK PRIORY.—Our two great authorities upon monastic establishments, Dugdale and Tanner, give us very little information respecting this house; all that we learn from them is that a priory of five Benedictine nuns existed here before the year 1236; that at the dissolution its possessions were of the annual value of £55:4:5, according to Dugdale, and £69:9:8, according to Speed, and that in 36 Henry VIII it was granted to Roger Williams. It appears that sir Richard de Clare and Gilbert his son, earls of the Marches, were prayed for as founders. In a family where from the first Richard, who came over with the conqueror, till the male line became extinct in 1314, the eldest sons were all named either Richard or Gilbert in both branches in which they were divided, it is difficult to identify the individuals thus commemorated as the founders; and the more so, as the lordship of Usk belonged to Richard de Clare who came over with the conqueror, and descended as Chepstow to the heiress of Richard Strongbow, and with her passed by marriage to the Marshalls, upon the extinction of the male line of which family (upon the death of Anselm Marshall in 1246) it again passed by marriage to the second branch of the Clares, earls of Gloucester, which became extinct in 1314.

The assertion that the priory existed prior to 1236, however, shows that the founders belonged to the first race, and the individuals prayed for were Richard de Clare, who came over at the conquest and died in 1114, and Gilbert Strongbow *alias* De Tonbridge, who died in 1142, and the date of the foundation the reign of Henry I. The accidental discovery among the immense collection of unarranged and unindexed manuscripts in the British

Museum of an original charter of lady Elizabeth de Burgh, dated 10th March, 4 Edw. III (1330), reciting *verbatim* and confirming the charter of earl Richard son of earl Gilbert, without date, but evidently in the reign of Henry II, and from the names of the witnesses, one of whom, Reymond Fitz William Fitz Gerald, was his own brother-in-law, the grantor was undoubtedly Richard Strongbow, who died in Ireland in 1177 or 1178. As he gives *inter alia* to the nuns "*all, etc., which had been granted to them by his ancestors*", it is evident that he was not the original founder, but that the parties prayed for as such were his great grandfather Richard de Clare and his grandfather Gilbert Strongbow *alias* De Tonbridge, as before observed.

This very interesting document which has so long lain hidden among the great mass of manuscripts which, to the disgrace of the country, remain in the national repository unclassified and destitute of any index by which they may be referred to, is as follows:—

CHARTER TO USK PRIORY.

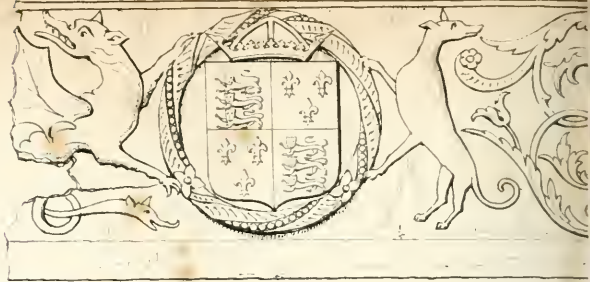
Universis Xti fidelibus ad quos p'sentes lr̄s p'venerint. Elizabetha de Burgo dña de Clare ⁊ de Uske salutem in Dño. Inspexim⁹ cartam comitis Ricardi filii comitis Gilb'ti in hec verba—Comes Ric⁹ filius comitis Gilb'ti om̄ib; suis hoib; Francis ⁊ Anglicis ⁊ Wallensib; salutem. Sciatis me dedisse ⁊ fermiter concessisse Deo ⁊ S̄cē Marie ⁊ S̄cis monialib; ibidē Deo s'vientib; eccliam S̄cē Marie de Uska cū om̄ib; ptinent' sc̄lt totam decimam dominij mei quā h̄eo in villa Uske in blado in molendino in porcis in animalib; ⁊ in om̄i nutriture que ptinet ad eandē villam ⁊ in om̄ib; rebus de quib; Xtianus decimas dare debet ⁊ totam decimā ville ⁊ totius parochie ⁊ totam decimam de denarijs reddituū ejusdem ville ⁊ nonū piscē de piscarijs meis Uske ⁊ decimam de piscar' de Kameis ⁊ duas carucatas t're in eadē villa ⁊ tria burgagia de t're ecclie cū om̄ib; lib'tatibus ⁊ consuetudinib; que toto in burgo meo Uske sive in Strugull. Cum his p'de'is concedo p'dce ecclie eccliam de Ragelan cū tota decima dominij mei quā ibi h̄eo sc̄lt in blado in molendino in porcis in animalib; ⁊ in om̄i nutriture que ptinet ad eandē villam ⁊ totam decimam ville ⁊ totius parochie p'ter decimā denarijs reddituū ⁊ mellis ejusdem ville et duodēa acr's trē dominiij cū tre que ad eccliam ptinet ⁊ eccliam de Mathenny cū tota decima dominij mei quā ibi h̄eo in blado in porcis in animalib; ⁊

in omib; reb; ⁊ totam decimam ville ⁊ toti^o parochie ⁊ totam decimam de denarijs reddituū ville ejusdē ⁊ unū bordariū cū quinq; aēr t're in eadem villa. Eccliam de S̄ci Padoci cū omib; ptinent suis scilt cū tota decima domini mei q'm ibi h̄eo ⁊ cū tota decima domini mei de Kilfeugenn. et totam decimam ville cū t'ra que ad eccliam ptinet ⁊ totam decimam de denarijs reddituū ejusdem ville ⁊ totam decimam pannagij ⁊ forestagij de Pethllenni ⁊ totam decimam de assartis que sunt in feoda meo ultra flumen Uske. Eccliam de Begewardia cū omib; ptinent' suis scilt cū trib; capellis una de Serditona ⁊ de veraq; Haiderleia cū dua pte decime domini mei ⁊ cū t'cia pte decime toti^o nutriture domini mei et cū duab; ptib; decime vini et cū tota decima pomoꝝ et totā decimā ville cū t'ra que ad eccliam ptinet et totam terram quam Osbertus Cemenarius dedit qu'ndo se frēm p'dce ecclie reddidit et viginta septē acras trē in Trosti juxt' Hunttoriū p decima centū acr's quas dedi frī Clembto in monte de Anguardi et triginta acr's t're juxta Uskam et Eb'thyn et Huntoriū de Trosti cū duab; acr's t're adjacentib; et unam carucatā t're in Rubethllenny de bosco et plano et totū pannagiū illoꝝ qui illam terram tenuerint et q'tuor acr's t're in Maresco de Magor et qu'tuor acras t're ap'd Elmil Plsbire et duodecim acr's t're apud Novā Villā de terr' Walteri Parvus et duas p'tes decime domini de Penclau quod sunt Osberti et Edrici pueri et quatuor acr's de t'ra Willi Wallensis et quatuor acr's de t'ra Willi filij Warini et quatuor acras de t'ra Rog'i Ribale et dimidiam decimam Willi Wallensis et totam decimam Willi filij Warini et cū hiis p'notatis concedo p'deis S̄cis Monialib; de foreste meo quicquid eis necesse fuerit ad edeficiā faciendā et pascuam animalib; suis et porcis et omib; nutrituris suis in omī libera commun'one in bosco et in plano et omēm libertatē et omēs lib'as consuetudies et omīa libera comūnia illis concedo quē antecessores mei ecclie concesserunt et lib'e et quēte et honorifice Hind et tenēd de me et de meis heredib; ab omī seculari in puram et p'petuam elimosinam cū omī libera commu'one in bosco et in plano in pascuis et in pratis in aquis et in omib; locis. Hij sunt testes Isabella comitissa, Isabella filia ejus, Rad' Bloet, Walt's Bloet, Rad' de Bendevill, Rad' filius ejus, Bledin' fil' Reginal' Reimund^o fil' Willi fil' Gerald, Wib'tus, Rob't^o Taillepetū, Geffrard^o capell^o, Nich' Cficus, Will^o Cficus.

Noveritis nos et donatiōes et concessionēs p'dcas ratas et gratas habentes et easdem p nobis et heredib; n̄ris inp'petuū confirmam^o. In cujus rei testimoniū p'sentib; sigillū n̄m apposum^o. Dat' apud



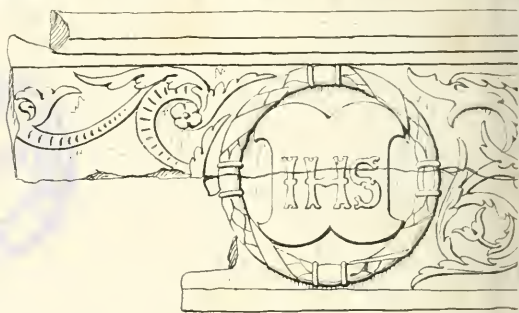
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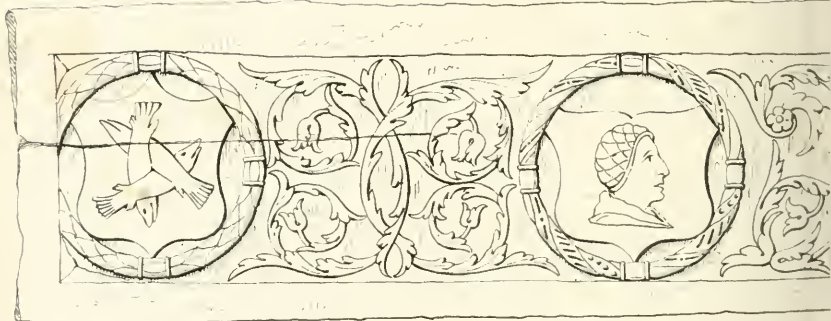
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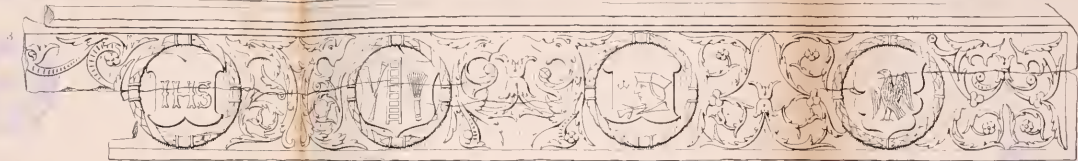
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W., 1,000—3/11/1900.





CARVED OAK CORNICE

From the
PRIORY AT LSK.

Scale One inch to a foot



Usk decimo die Martij anno regni regis Edwardi t'tij post conquestum quarto.

The greater part of the possessions of the priory at the dissolution are comprised in this grant, and it seems rather strange that the good nuns did not give the donor the benefit of their prayers as well as his ancestors and lady Elizabeth de Burgh, who merely confirmed the donations of Strongbow. The other benefactors commemorated were Edmund earl of March and Richard duke of York. There were five nuns here at the dissolution, under dame Ellen Williams the prioress, who was, I think, of a North Wales family. The monastery, or what is left of it, has been modernised, with the exception of the entrance gate, and converted into a private dwelling-house. Till within these few years, a parlour was wainscoted with oak in panels surmounted by a richly carved oak cornice eighteen inches deep. In one part were the royal arms, with supporters, a dragon and a greyhound, which shows it to have been executed in the reign of Henry VII, and the initials E. W. in another compartment, were, I suppose, intended for Ellen Williams, the last prioress. (See plate 24.) The remains of this elegant cornice, some part being lost or broken, are now at Troy House.¹ All that are extant are figured in the plate, the subjects of which are worthy of consideration, and may be referred to on a future occasion.

The inscribed brass let into the base of the screen has been very inaccurately engraved in Coxe's *Historical Tour in Monmouthshire*. From the corrosion of the metal a rubbing does not show the letters sufficiently distinct, hence the errors in his plate. Several attempts at explanation have been made; two are given by Coxe, and I have myself published another in the second volume of the *Archæologia Cambrensis*, in which there are also two other versions. The general idea seems to be that it is a monumental inscription, which was formerly attached to some tomb which has been destroyed, from which I dissent.

¹ The Association felt much regret that, on occasion of their visit, it was not in their power to inspect this mansion, to which they were most kindly invited by Mr. Wyatt, through the intervention of Mr. Barnett, who attended several of the excursions during the Congress. The multiplicity of objects included in the programme, greater than was able to be accomplished, necessarily prevented making any addition, particularly where the facilities afforded by railway accommodation were not to be met with.

My idea is, that it is now where it always was, and is intended to record the settlement of some dispute between the nuns and the parishioners respecting the extent of the choir and chancel, through the intervention of a person named Adam, who is praised as a Solomon in wisdom and a righteous judge in hyperbolical terms for his decision, which was apparently in favour of the nuns, who rejoiced exceedingly, and the screen marked the boundary of their right in the church. From the characters and other circumstances I am disposed to consider it to be of the thirteenth century, and it happens that in the reign of Henry III there was a celebrated character living in the neighbourhood named Adam ap Iorwerth, but better known as Adam Gwent, that is to say, Adam of Gwent. He was the steward of the last Welsh lord of Caerleon, and when he was ousted by the Anglo-Normans seems to have continued in the same office under the Marshalls. He was a man of large property, and had the address or good fortune to obtain from the king a charter of confirmation of all his estates. Several highly respectable families claim to be descended from him. Such a person would be very probably chosen to arbitrate between the disputants. In the valuations of the possessions of the priory as returned by dame Ellen Williams, 26 Henry VIII, among the deductions claimed the following occurs: "*Item, to pray for Doctor Adam and rynging of his mynd ev' y yere vi^d*". Now in the inscription the individual is expressly called doctor, and there can be little doubt, I think, that he was the person thus prayed for, and it may be especially for the services he had rendered in settling the dispute referred to in the inscription. It is rather singular that according to the versions of the several gentlemen who treat it as a sepulchral memorial, no name of the person is mentioned, rather an odd mode of commemorating the virtues of the deceased. The great difficulty in reading it is owing to there being no marked division between the words, and the obsolete orthography. I read it thus:

"Nolech ode y reth rode y arlleyn. Advo cade llawn hade llun deyn.
 Seliff sunnoier sinna se Adam Usk e val kuske
 A Barnour bode breynta pile Ty Nevaro Ty Havabe
 Dek e kummode doctor kymmen. Llena loer llawn o lene."

In modern orthography:

1. Nolech odde y raith roddan i arlleian, adfo cadw llawen hadef
llun dain
2. Seliff synwyr synna sy Adam Usk ei wal cysgu.
3. A Barnwr, bete breyntau pilau, Ty Nevaro, Ty Havabe.
4. Yn Deg a gymmodai Doethwr cymmen, llen a loer llawn o lenc.

1. The intention of this screen (is to point out) the legal decision of (the extent) of the donation to the superior nun (the prioress), whose household, of fair appearance, will again rejoice.

2. Lo Adam is a Solomon in intellect; he rests or resides at Usk.

3. (He is) a judge in the liberties of the manors of Ty Nevaro and Ty Havabe.

4. Fairly did the eloquent sage settle the dispute, brighter than the moon, and full of light.

I should not have presumed to give my opinion on the matter; but after so many eminent Welsh scholars have tried their hands at it, and every one given a different explanation, I trust I may be excused giving my own reading, which, though no doubt open to objection, may furnish useful hints to those more competent to the undertaking.

ON THE EARLS OF STRIGUL AND LORDS OF CHEPSTOW.

BY J. R. PLANCHÉ, ESQ., HON. SEC.

AMONGST the many subjects that present themselves for inquiry and illustration on occasions like the present, there is one which I have generally selected as most congenial to an early-contracted taste, and now important to my official occupations, namely, the genealogy and armorial bearings of the ancient lords of the land on which we assemble. But, although especially a labour of love to me, it has the great disadvantage of being one which it is next to impossible to render entertaining to a public meeting, however strictly antiquarian in its general character. Dates are dry things to deal with, valuable as the result may be to the antiquary and historian; and, in my position, I am

rarely able to avail myself of such matter as might give a popular interest to my paper. Time would not permit me to read, if it had allowed me to prepare, a complete biography of each individual nobleman; and any briefer notices would be no more than could be found in any county history, or even tourist's hand-book, of the present day. As a case immediately in point, the succession of the earls of Strigul, lords of Chepstow, and the more popular portions of their personal history, are to be found in books with which most of my auditors are, no doubt, familiar, Coxe's *Historical Tour in Monmouthshire*, Fenton's *Historical Tour through Pembrokeshire*, and other smaller works. At first sight it would appear that I had nothing to do but copy a few pages out of those volumes. It would have made very pleasant reading, even to those who had heard it before, and given me very little trouble; but my duty to the Association requires a very different course, and its execution to the best of my ability, must be my apology to a considerable portion of my audience for the lack of entertainment they will no doubt find in my observations. To atone for my dulness as far as possible by brevity, I shall limit my remarks to a few points in the history of the earls of Strigul, as the Norman lords of Chepstow appear occasionally to have been called, which have been much disputed, and still remain obscure.

And first, as to the very title itself. We have the undeniable evidence of *Domesday Book* that an earl William, "Willelmus comes", built the castle of Estrighoiel; and it is plain, from the mention of ships and a town in the same record, as Mr. Coxe has remarked, that the place alluded to could not be the castellated mansion on the borders of Wentwood, which is still called the castle of Striguil, as it is seated at a considerable distance from any navigable river, independently of the fact that the latter was built by Richard de Clare long after the death of the earl William aforesaid. It is much more probable that it received its name from the earl of Strigul who built it, than that he took that title from the mansion, and transferred it to Chepstow, as it has been asserted. Atkyns, in his *Gloucestershire* (p. 45), supposes the "castellum de Estrighoiel" mentioned in *Domesday*, to be the Castle of Eastbridge hotel, in Gloucester; and Rudder, in his work (p. 89),

miscalls it *Estbrighoiel*, and considers it the castle of Gloucester. The illustrator of *Domesday*, misled by these authorities, makes *Estrighoiel* and *Estbrighoiel* two places, calls them *Chepstow* and *Gloucester*, and interprets *Strigul*, or *Strigoil*, to mean Gloucester.

In the absence of any speculation as to the derivation of *Estrighoiel*, I venture, with great humility, to suggest one.¹ It is certain that, from a very early period, the names of *Chepstow* and *Strigul* have been synonymous, the former being continually styled, in ancient deeds and charters, *Striogul*, *Striguil*, *Strigul*, or *Strighil*, and in Latin, *Striguliæ*. Now *Chepstow*, the town, is satisfactorily derived from *Chepian Stowe*, signifying a place of traffic, and was so called by the Saxons, by whom it was probably occupied when Harold built a palace at *Portscuit*, and overran this part of *Monmouthshire*. The castle was also called by them the "castle of *Cheapstowe*"; but what name they gave to the province, or the country round about, I have not seen mentioned. The Britons called it *Nethergwent*, and the castle, *Casgwent*. Now it seems to me exceedingly probable that their Saxon neighbours, who could remember the three kingdoms of Wales under one prince, in the person of *Howel-dha*, would have been very likely to have designated the eastern portion of his dominions "*Est rik Howel*", the east kingdom of *Howel*; and under its Saxon name it would be most likely to appear in *Domesday*. *Atkyns*, who could translate "*Estrighoiel*" *Eastbridge hotel*, may be said, in the language of child's play, to have *burned*, if I have found the true derivation. *Estrighoiel* became naturally *Strighoiel*, as *Estoteville* became *Stotteville*; and after the death of *Roger de Breteuil*, earl of *Hereford*, son of *William Fitz Osberne*, earl of *Hereford*, the "*Willemus comes*" who built the castle of *Estrighoiel*, we find the lands in the possession of *Gilbert de Clare*, surnamed *Strongbow*, first earl of *Pembroke*, being so created by king *Stephen* in the fourth year of his reign, A.D. 1138. He appears to have inherited them from his uncle, *Walter Fitz Richard de Clare*, the founder of *Tintern abbey*. Of

¹ Since this paper was written, Mr. Wakeman has pretty nearly settled the question by another derivation. (See pp. 249-250 *ante*.) I have little doubt but that he is right, and would have suppressed my suggestion altogether, had it not already appeared in the reports of the Congress.

this great family of Clare the genealogy is woefully obscure; there is no doubt, however, that our Gilbert earl of Pembroke and lord of Strigul was the second son of Gilbert Fitz Richard de Clare. He married Elizabeth, natural daughter of king Henry I, and had issue by her, Richard, who succeeded him; Baldwin, who was taken prisoner at the battle of Leicester, fighting for king Stephen; and a daughter, Basilea, who married Raymond, son of William Fitz Gerald.

Gilbert died the 14th of September 1148, and was buried at Tintern, near his uncle Walter. The mutilated effigy which was shown to me there as that of this Gilbert de Clare, earl of Pembroke (see plate 25, fig. 1), is of a date, I should say, nearly a century later than that of his death; and I have no doubt that it has been misappropriated.¹ Upon his seal, engraved in Bysshe's *Notes on Upton* (see plate 26, fig. 1), he is represented with a shield, which is exceedingly interesting to the student of heraldry, as it affords him an example of the origin of the chevron. The bands, which there follow the peculiar form of the shield, became, when reduced to three, the well known family bearing of the Clares.

Richard Fitz Gilbert de Clare, his eldest son and successor, is called by Hoveden and Giraldus Cambrensis, earl of Strigul, "comes Striguliæ". He married Eva, daughter of Dermot Mac Morrough, king of Leinster, under circumstances which have been lately familiarized to the public by the great and elaborate painting of Mr. M'Clise, in the last exhibition of the Royal Academy. We will not be so commonplace as to stop and inquire whether Strongbow actually received her hand, amongst the dead and the dying, by the light of the burning city of Waterford. The painter has a prescriptive right to seize on any traditional point which may add to the poetical effect of his composition. That Richard did conquer all Leinster, which had revolted against Dermot, and received in consequence the king's daughter Eva in marriage, either at Waterford, or, according to Camden, Dublin, in 1168, is matter of history. He died in 1176,² on the nones of April, and left, according

¹ It is most probably the effigy of Walter or Anselm Marshal, earl of Pembroke, both of whom were buried at Tintern. The remains of a coronet are still visible round the head of the effigy.

² "Of an ulcerous sore in the leg."—Archdall's *Monasticon Hibernicum*.

Fig. 1.



EFFIGY AT TINTERN ABBEY

Said to be that of Gilbert de Clare Earl of Pembroke.

Fig. 2.



Earl Strongbow's Monument. Christs Cathedral, Dublin





Fig. 1. Seal of Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Pembroke



Fig. 2. Seal of Richard Fitz Gilbert Earl of Pembroke



to Ralph Brooke, an only daughter, his heir, named Isabel, who, after being for fourteen years a ward to king Henry II, was given in marriage by king Richard I, in 1189, the first year of his reign, to William Marshal the elder, who became in her right third earl of Pembroke. Now begins the battle. Vincent, correcting Brooke with his usual asperity, says that Richard "had other issue than one only daughter, though, indeed, in the end she proved his heir; for Stanihurst, in his Irish story, shows that he had a son more forward than fortunate, who, although he was but a stripling, yet earnestly besought his father that he might have the leading of his forces against the Irishry, grown then to a strong head. The father dissuaded; but the son, ambitious of honour, and propounding to himself victory beforehand, would not hear of his father's counsel." I will spare you the speech he is said to have made on the occasion, and come at once to the catastrophe. The son having gained his point, lost the battle, and flying to his father for protection, the earl, infuriated by the defeat, slew him with his own sword. The monuments of both father and son are supposed by many still to exist in the cathedral of Christchurch, Dublin. But here arises another controversy. "About the place of Richard's interment," says Fenton (p. 378, note), "historians and antiquaries are still divided. Leland, in his Itinerary, enumerating some inscriptions on the walls of the chapter house of Gloucester cathedral, mentions the following, 'Hic jacet Ric'us Strongbowe, filius Gilberti comitis de Pembroke.' Yet others, and the greater number, will have it he was buried in the cathedral church of Christchurch, Dublin: but the monument there shown for him representing a crusader,¹ who bears on his shield *argent*, on a chief *azure*, three crosses pattée fitché of the field, has proved an insurmountable stumbling-block, especially as the arms generally given to him and all the Clare family were *or*, three chevrons *gules*; and with a seal thus impressed George Owen, in a MS. in my possession, says that he was shown a deed from Strongbow, sealed: but yet, when we are told that to sir Henry Sidney, who, Campion says, was perfect

¹ Every cross-legged effigy was formerly considered to represent a Crusader. That opinion is now exploded; the discovery of effigies of females in the same attitude determined a point which had for some time been doubtful.

in blazoning arms and skilful in antiquities, is ascribed the re-erection of this monument after its destruction by the falling in of the roof of the church, notwithstanding the apparent contradiction of the shield, how are we to gainsay the account handed down to us, and so incontrovertibly sanctioned by Giraldus and Stanihurst, the latter of whom, not without some surprise at Giraldus's oversight in not noticing it, mentions another smaller monument attached to it of his son's, by his first wife, whom he murdered with his own hand for cowardice, and on which was this epitaph :

“ ‘Nate ingrate mihi pugnante terga dedisti
Non mihi, sed Genti et regno quoque terga dedisti.’ ”

Fenton, however, does not notice that Vincent, in relating Stanihurst's description of the incident above mentioned, adds, “in *Kilkenny* was the father buried, but after removed to Dublin, where, in the church of the Trinity at this day (saith mine author) both their monuments are yet to be seen.” Now, if Richard's body was removed from Kilkenny to Dublin, it is possible it may also have been removed from Dublin to Gloucester ; or, as it was customary to bury the body in one place, the heart in another, and sometimes the viscera in a third, some such distribution may have caused the discrepancy. As far as regards the tomb itself, however (see plate 25, fig. 2), I should be much inclined to doubt its being that of Richard Strongbow. The inscription on the wall above it is as follows :

“This auneynt monument of Rychard Strongbowe, called comes Straugulensis, lord of Chepsto and Ognys, the fyrst and princypall invader of Irland, 1169. Qui obiit 1177. The monument was broken by the fall of the roff and bodeye of Christes church in an. 1567, and set up agayne at the chargeys of the right honorable s^r Hemi Sydney, knyght of the noble order, L. president of Wailes, L. deputy of Irland, 1570.”

To a rough sketch made by a friend of mine, in 1834, was appended this note : “Stone figure on a slab. By the side are the remains of another monument. Upon it the upper half apparently of a *female figure* of the same period.”

Now, in the first place, as the monument was broken (Fenton intimates *destroyed*) in 1567, it would be rather hazardous to speculate upon the alterations it might have

undergone in its "setting up again", even by so highly reputed an antiquary and herald as sir Henry Sydney. Indeed, Campion's testimony to his "perfection in blazoning of arms", is to me a most alarming feature in the business. In the second place, the figure like that called Gilbert's, at Tintern, bears evidence to my mind of a much later date than 1177, the period of Richard's death. The shield on the seal of his father is, as I have already noticed, composed of bands, or in heraldic language, *chevronée*, but we have the testimony of Mr. George Owen that Richard sealed a deed with three chevrons; and in the valuable collection of prints and drawings of seals made by J. C. Brooke, Somerset herald, preserved in the College of Arms, is a pen and ink sketch of a seal of this Richard (see plate 26, fig. 2), which appears to have been appended to the original grant of the vill of Techmul, in Ireland, to Peter Giffard of Chillington, exhibited to the Society by Mr. Hay of Brewood, and printed in the eighth volume of our *Journal*, p. 348. In my prefatory notice to that document, I regretted the loss of the seal; and the fortunate discovery of this drawing enables me to correct the error of ascribing the grant to Richard Fitz Gilbert, the husband of Rohesia Giffard. It is clear that it must have been the grant of the second Richard Fitz Gilbert, surnamed Strongbow, the subject of our present inquiry; for it is dated at Waterford, in Ireland, and the first witness is "Rog., monach: de Tinterna." The seal is stated by Mr. Brooke to have been of white wax. It is imperfect; but the shield with the three chevrons on it is fortunately plain enough, and presents us with an interesting instance of the existence of what may be called a truly heraldic shield at that early period.¹ But the shield of the Dublin effigy displays a greater advance in heraldic insignia than I am inclined to believe existed in the twelfth century; and though we know that armorial bearings were at that time very arbitrary, and that sons constantly assumed arms widely differing from their paternal ones, I have great doubt that a chief with three cross crosslets upon it was ever borne by Richard Strongbow. Stukeley, in his *Origines Roystoniana*, p. 121, does not scruple to assert that Gilbert, Richard's

¹ In the same collection is the print of another seal, said to be that of Richard Strongbow, with a shield *chevronée*, like that of his father.



father, in regard to his holy expedition bore those arms : but it would require some much better authority to make me believe so. Thirdly, the mutilated monument by the side of the effigy is stated by my friend, who was no mean antiquary, to bear apparently the upper half of a *female* figure of the same period ;—the wife, most probably, of the warrior, whoever he was, and not the son mentioned by Stanihurst, whose existence, either in flesh or in marble, I have very considerable doubts of. No one has yet discovered a former wife of Richard, and as he married Eva in 1168, it is absurd to suppose he would entrust the command of an army to a child under eight years of age, for by Dermot's daughter he could have had none older before his own decease in 1176 or 7. Ralph de Diceto, a chronicler of the thirteenth century, says, Richard left a son, scarce three years old, to be his heir, who must have died in infancy ; and, by some historians, a Roger de Quincy, the standard-bearer of Richard, is said to have been his son-in-law, in which case he must have had a grown-up daughter as well as a son by some former wife or mistress : but we have no proof to support either assertion, and all we know is that in 1189 the earldom of Pembroke, with the lordships of Strigul, Wexford, and Kildare, were conveyed by Isabel, daughter and heir of Richard Strongbow, to her husband, William, the king's marshal, son of John and grandchild of Gilbert, as he is designated by Brooke.

The early history of the Marshals is as involved in mystery as that of the Clares : but from the point at which it becomes connected with Chepstow it is clear enough. This William Marshal the elder, as he is called, third earl of Pembroke, died in the fourth year of the reign of king Henry III, 1219, and was buried on the 16th of March in the Temple church, London.

He was succeeded by his eldest son, William, called the younger, as fourth earl of Pembroke and marshal of England, lord of Strigul, Chepstow, Caerwent, Sligo, Wexford, Kildare, Kilkenny, Ossory, and Carlow. He is said to have married, first, Avicia, or Alicia, daughter and heir of Baldwin de Bethune ; but the learned André du Chesne, author of the *History of the House of Bethune*, doubts this fact. He says, "some English genealogists have remarked her name, which, notwithstanding, is not

to be found in the charters (*les Titres*), and have written that she was married to William Marshal, second of the name, earl of Pembroke, who had no issue, which, if it be true, she must have died very young and a few years after her father (A.D. 1212), for the lordship of Chocques returned before 1219 to John de Bethune, bishop of Cambray, as next of kin to Baldwin de Bethune, his brother, and his children": but William de Fortibus, the first husband of Havise de Aumale, mother of the lady in question, died 6th of Richard I (1195). Now, supposing that she re-married with Baldwin de Bethune the same year, their daughter might have been born in 1196: and in the 5th of John 1204, it appears that Baldwin gave to William Marshal, earl of Pembroke, the lordships of Braburn, Sutton, and Kimsay, in Kent, Luton in Bedfordshire, and others in various parts of England, in frank almaine with his daughter *Alice*. She would therefore at that period have been in her sixteenth year, a marriageable age, and if dead in 1219, might have attained that of twenty-three.

The confusion between the names of Alice and Avice, Alicia and Avicia, is a common one in ancient documents, and may sometimes be a clerical error, either of the original scribe or the copyist. In her father's charter, as above, she is called Alice, and as that was the name of her grandmother, Alicia de Roumeli, it is probably the correct one. Vincent, in a MS. note to the copy of his work in the College of Arms, says, "He", that is Ralph Brooke, "calls her Hawis: but untruly." We must not forget, however, that it was customary in those days for women to have two names. Ordericus Vitalis gives an instance of this in the case of Matilda, queen of Henry I, "whose baptismal name", he says, "was Edith." Book VII, chap. i. This is an important fact to bear in mind in such researches.

The second wife of William the younger was undoubtedly Eleanor, daughter of king John and sister of Henry III; but he had no issue by either, and on his death the earldom of Pembroke, with the honour of Strigul, passed in rotation to his four brothers, Richard, Gilbert, Walter, and Anselm, who, it is most remarkable, all died without issue in the short space of fifteen years; and on the extinction of the male line the whole of the honours and estates of the Marshals were divided between the five daughters

of William the elder, co-heiresses of their brother Anselm; Maud, the eldest, who married, first, Hugh Bigot earl of Norfolk, and secondly, William earl of Warren, receiving for her portion Strigul, Tudenham, and divers lands in England and Ireland, which came to her son, Roger le Bigot, earl of Norfolk, together with the office of the high marshalship of England. (MS. Col. Arms, Vincent 20, p. 15.) His nephew and heir surrendered all his honours and estates to Edward II, who in virtue thereof granted to his brother, Thomas Plantagenet, called de Brotherton, the earldom of Norfolk and all the estates of the Bigots, amongst which were "the castle and manor of Strigul and the town of Chepstow." On his decease these latter possessions were assigned, first, to his widow Mary, as part of her dower, and on her death in 1362, were given in purparty to Margaret, eldest daughter and co-heir of Thomas de Brotherton, and at that time wife of her second husband, the celebrated sir Walter Manny.

The connexion of this mirror of knighthood with the honour of Strigul and town of Chepstow, is a bright point in its history, at which I may venture to leave it for the present. The mere list of the successors to these possessions through the families of Hastings, Mowbray, and Herbert, to that of Somerset, in which they are now vested, would weary without informing. I have as briefly as possible in such disquisitions, attempted to elucidate what I found most obscure in previous writers on the subject, and if I have failed in disposing altogether of some of the questions, I trust I have brought forward some new data for the foundation of their future argument.

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Proceedings of the Congress.

MONDAY, AUGUST 21.

UNDER the active superintendence of Dr. Trevor Morris, the honorary local secretary, the local committee (Robert Evans, esq., of Larkfield, in the chair), assembled at the Beaufort Arms, Chepstow, at one o'clock, P.M., and after making various arrangements relative to the proceedings of the Congress, were joined by the officers and members of the general committee, prior to opening the general meeting. In the absence of RALPH BERNAL, esq., M.A., the president of the Association, sir Fortunatus Dwaris, F.R.S., F.S.A., one of the vice-presidents, was, upon the nomination of Mr. Pettigrew, requested to preside over the Congress. The first meeting was held in the great assembly room of the Beaufort Arms; the president being supported by the officers and committee, the very rev. the dean of Llandaff, the rev. J. Montgomery Traherne, late chancellor of Llandaff, and many of the clergy of the neighbourhood, in addition to several members of, and visitors to, the Association.

SIR FORTUNATUS DWARRIS said, in the absence of their valued president, which they must all regret, the duty was cast upon him of occupying the chair as his *locum tenens*. Under any other circumstances he would not have had the presumption to have appeared before them without having prepared a suitable inaugural address; but, as it was, he must throw himself on their kindness and indulgence, and should also have to appeal to their indefatigable and most valued treasurer, for his resources of archæological lore were inexhaustible. He should confine the few remarks he would venture to address to them to the neighbourhood in which they were assembled; indeed, he did not know that it would be necessary for him to say anything further, than "CIRCUMSPICE". "Look around you", he felt was all that need be; for where could be found scenes of more intense interest, or more surpassing beauty? Where could be found a site more appropriate for archæological inquiry than the borders of the territory of the ancient Britons? Old as their native hills, were the monuments, the traditions, and the legends, of the descendants of the Cymri. From every grove and forest peeped out some spiral turret, or majestic keep, pointed arch, or traceried window, in that land of multi-

farious castles, and towers, and monasteries, and abbeys, so dear to the antiquary. In the not far distant valley of the poetic Wye was cradled Harry of Monmouth. Over those hills the last of the British princes, the unfortunate Llewellyn, after a long and patriotic resistance to the Romans, the Saxons, and the Normans, was compelled to yield to our first Edward,—a magnanimous prince, who, to valour in the field, added wisdom in the court, and who was not only a great conqueror, but a profound legislator, and a wise statesman. He not only added provinces to his kingdom, but consolidated his empire by wise institutions, and the improvement of the laws. The meeting would pardon that transient allusion to such of our Edwards and Henrys as had a local habitation as well as an imperishable name. Might the name of Victoria be added to the list? Not for the lust of conquest; not for the invasion of foreign lands: if for wars at all, for just and holy wars,—wars undertaken solely in the cause of civilization, to defend the oppressed, and humble the oppressor;—but, he would rather say, for the arts of peace, and progress, might our beloved queen, an Elizabeth without her faults and her vices, be placed, in the memories of a grateful people, by the side of our great first Edward, our English Justinian. She was already endeared to her subjects as a wife and a mother, although she might not have a Burleigh for her minister, or a Bacon for her chancellor. The president then alluded to the historians of Wales, and after noticing Giraldus Cambrensis, whom he called the Livy of the principalities, he went on to defend Geoffrey of Monmouth from the attacks so constantly made on him. “False historian”, “fabulous historian”, were the titles he got from every Englishman; and, had the time and occasion admitted of it, he should have been glad to have been the one Englishman to have defended him. He saw no reason why they should hold the prophecies of Merlin not to be as true as the leaves of the Sybil, that Arthur was not as puissant and victorious as Romulus and Remus, or that the *genius loci* did not breathe as much inspiration into the Round Table, as in the case of Numa and the Grotto of Egeria.

Sir Fortunatus concluded by calling upon T. J. PETTIGREW, esq., F.R.S., F.S.A., vice-president and treasurer, who then delivered the Introductory Address. (See pp. 197-225 *ante*.)

The thanks of the meeting having been carried by acclamation to Mr. Pettigrew, for his address, the president announced that the Reading Rooms at Chepstow were liberally thrown open to the members of the Association and visitors during the Congress; and he then invited such as were present, and not deterred by the rain, which had fallen rather heavily in the course of the morning, to accompany him to view the remains of the castle, the church, priory, etc., in the town, previous to the hour which had been appointed for the ordinary. The greater part of the meeting then proceeded to inspect the ruins, admission to which

had been admirably arranged by the local secretary; and considerable discussion took place on the spot as to the purposes to which the several portions had been devoted. Differences of opinion were expressed by the members as to the probable uses to which, in the time of its integrity, the inner court, popularly considered to have been the chapel, was applied. By some few the traditional application was regarded as the correct one; but others insisted that there were evident traces of there having been a flooring, which would not have existed had it been a chapel, and which favoured the theory that it had been either a banqueting room or a kitchen, probably the former. Another matter anxiously discussed was, to whom should the origin of the structure be referred. The presence of a range of Roman tiles in the wall gave rise to a good deal of perplexing consideration; and it seemed to be generally admitted that the build of the lower part of the castle was unique, and that the erection might have been of Norman, or of anterior origin. The architects present differed in their views upon these questions, and no definite decision was arrived at. The chief discussion on the castle was necessarily deferred until the evening meeting.

The castle having been inspected, the members and visitors proceeded to Chepstow church, where they were most courteously received by the respected vicar, the rev. J. B. Gabriel, M.A., who was exceedingly attentive to the Association throughout the Congress, and accompanied the members in several of the excursions. The entrance to the church was most deservedly admired; but the alterations which a few years since had been made, were universally, unequivocally, and unsparingly condemned. Of all churches within our knowledge, this has suffered most from ignorance in the repairs and the alterations it has undergone. Mr. Freeman has treated of this edifice in the *Archæologia Cambrensis* (vol. ii, New Series, p. 1), and remarks that "ten years have not elapsed since the most irreparable barbarisms that ancient structure ever underwent were inflicted on a church which might have excited the reverence of all by its massive proportions and venerable antiquity, and the singularity of whose architecture might claim no mean place among the monastic remains of Wales and its marches."

The tale of its destruction is thus briefly told:—

"It must be remembered that the ancient portion of the present building consists of the nave of the old conventual church. We are told that the tower stood at the east end, from which I infer that it was a cruciform church; of which, as in so many other instances, the choir was destroyed at the dissolution, while the nave was allowed to remain as the parish church. The central tower would thus, of course, stand at the east end of the latter. This tower fell some time in the seventeenth century, and appears to have crushed the transepts, or whatever portions of them remained. It was not rebuilt in its old position,

but over the western bay of the church ; a belfry arch being thrown across the nave, and the west front carried up as the west wall of the new tower."

The site of Chepstow priory was visited, and found to be now occupied by a wine merchant. Notwithstanding the strict scrutiny of the very rev. the dean of Llandaff, E. A. Freeman, esq., Thomas Wakeman, esq., and various members of the Association, some very trifling traces only of apparently original structure could be detected ; and even in relation to these, serious doubts were entertained. On the subject of the priory and church, Mr. WAKEMAN communicated the following observations :—

"Neither the founder's name, nor the era of the foundation of this house, are known. Dugdale and Tanner inform us that it was a cell to the Benedictine abbey of Cormeilles, in Normandy, and was in existence in the reign of king Stephen. We have evidence, however, that it existed in the reign of Henry I ; for a charter of Henry II, without date, confirmed the church of Strugul to the abbot and convent of Cormeilles, '*as they held it in the reign of king Henry my grandfather.*' A curious charter of Badaron, lord of Monmouth, to the priory there, recites his marriage, at Strugul, with Rohais daughter of Gilbert the consul, at which Odo, prior of Strugul, and Godfrey, prior of Monmouth, were present, and officiated ; and as Godfrey was prior from 1125 to 1130, the date of this must have been between those years. The abbey of Cormeilles, to which this was a cell, was founded by William Fitz Osbern, who was also lord of Chepstow or Strugul ; and, if the church of Strugul had been mentioned in *Domesday* as then belonging to the abbey, it might have been fairly inferred that he had also founded this cell, but as that is not the case, it must be referred to one of his successors in the lordship, probably one of the Clares. If, as is not unlikely, Odo was the first prior, Gilbert Strongbow, called De Tonbridge, who was lord of Strugul at the time of Badaron's marriage, about 1129, was probably the individual.

"The original church was a cruciform structure, with a tower at the intersection of the nave and transepts, which fell down at the beginning of the last century, carrying with it all but the nave and side aisles, which were used as the parish church ; and a new tower was erected over the west front, which was commenced on 14th May 1705, and finished 13th July 1706. Recent alterations, in exceedingly bad taste, have left nothing remaining of the conventual church, except the western doorway and window above. The monastery stood on the south side of the church ; but there are no remains of it, the spacious wine vaults on the site having no pretensions to antiquity.

"Strugul is not mentioned in the list of alien priories seized by Edward I. In the patent rolls, 1st Henry IV, is the confirmation of a pardon granted to sir Benedict Cely, knight, in 22nd Richard II, for having

purchased the alien priory of Chepstow from the abbot and convent of Cormeilles without the king's license. The nature of this transaction is not very intelligible, as it continued to belong to the abbey; and in 2nd Henry V is mentioned among other alien priories suppressed in the parliament holden at Leicester. In this document both Strugul and Chepstow are mentioned, as if there had been two priories here. This is probably a clerical error, as there is no reason whatever to suppose there ever was more than one, called indifferently Strugul or Chepstow. King Edward IV, by two patents, in second and ninth years of his reign, gave it to God's House in Cambridge. At the dissolution, Robert Shrewsbury the prior, and Robert Tewkesbury, subscribed to the supremacy. The clear yearly value of its possessions was returned by the former at £32 : 3 : 4. The whole was granted on lease to Morgan Wolfe, of London, goldsmith. The principal part of the lands was granted to different parties by queen Elizabeth and James I; but the site of the monastery and the gardens and lands immediately adjoining, remained in the hands of the crown till 12th Charles I, when they were granted to Francis Brad-dock and Christopher Kingscote.

"The names of three only of the priors are known: Odo, mentioned before, in the reign of Henry I; John, in 1513; and Robert Shrewsbury, the last.

"A seal of this priory is preserved in the chapter house at Westminster; it is much defaced, but seems to represent a saint seated under a canopy. The inscription not legible. The lords of the manor were patrons of the house; and the monks were obliged to find a priest to officiate in the castle three times a week."

At seven o'clock the company sat down to an excellent dinner, prepared by Mr. Watts, the landlord of the Beaufort Arms, to which the duke of Beaufort had kindly contributed an ample supply of excellent venison.

The evening meeting was held at half-past eight o'clock, at the Bank Assembly Rooms, contiguous, sir F. Dwarris in the chair. In the absence of Mr. Duesbury, by whom a paper on the castle had been promised, the president called upon THOMAS WAKEMAN, esq., of Graig, who delivered some observations in relation to Chepstow town and castle. (See pp. 249-257 *ante*.)

Mr. PLANCHÉ said he had listened with great interest and pleasure to the valuable paper of Mr. Wakeman, which had completely cut the one which he (Mr. Planché) had intended reading from under his feet. Mr. Wakeman had gone over the same ground as he had, and he should not therefore attempt to inflict on the Association the tedium of a twice-told tale. There was one point upon which he, however, would offer an observation or two. Like Mr. Wakeman and others he had been struck by the word Estrighoiel, and had endeavoured to comprehend it, and he had arrived at a theory respecting which he had come to the meeting with



a good deal of confidence. It had struck him as being no Welsh word at all, but pure Saxon. It was known that Howell was king of all Wales. Now, Est-reich-howel would mean the east kingdom of Howell, and his view therefore was that the word was corrupted from a Saxon term by which the Saxons described the portion of Howell's territory abutting on their own. He agreed with Mr. Wakeman that there was a good deal of folly in attempting to translate words and torture them from all sorts of derivatives, but as it had struck him that the word in question was a Saxon one, he ventured to throw the suggestion out. (See Mr. Planché paper, pp. 265-274 *ante*.)

The rev. Mr. HUGO said, that in examining the castle he had met with what he could not at all understand. He should be glad if any gentleman of the neighbourhood could explain the existence of Roman tiles in the walls.

Mr. WHITE said, when examining the castle some years ago with Mr. Charles Baily, he had been struck by it as most remarkable. It was altogether different from other Norman castles he had seen. With respect to the Roman tiles in the wall, elucidation was most desirable; and if they could get permission of the noble owner of the ruin to excavate under the walls, the question of whether it was Roman or Norman might perhaps be settled in a little time. They knew that the Romans paid great attention to the foundations of their buildings, that they built with concrete, and upon that layers of stone and layers of tiles, while the Normans made their foundations differently. The course of tiles ran round three sides and a bit of the castle, turning a little at the best end of the west wall, and they were all exceedingly regular. With respect to the building of castles and churches after the conquest, he thought that they ought to be very careful how they gave credence to statements of certain noblemen having built so many castles and certain abbots so many chapels. Take London for example: they were informed that just after the conquest the cathedral of St. Paul was taken down to its foundation and restored all within eight years. Now they knew that the St. Paul's of that period was much larger than the present one, which, with all the appliances of modern art that sir Christopher Wren had at his command, took forty years to build. Then they were told of numerous others that were taken down and rebuilt, among which were the castle of Colchester, and even the Tower of London, and that all were constructed within ten or twelve years of the coming of the conqueror. Now any architect who would take the trouble to work out the cube measurement, would find that the work could not be done, even in these days, under fifty or one hundred years. Mr. White again urged the desirableness of excavating, so as to determine by the foundations whether the castle of Chepstow was Roman or Norman.

Mr. GOULD feared that digging would not solve the question, as the

castle was not built on soft ground, where concrete would have been used, but on the solid rock.

Mr. WHITE confessed that he had not thought of the rock; but still he did not think that the examination would be useless, because they knew that the Romans made their foundations of stones of great magnitude and well squared, while the Normans used rubble, and generally placed their worst stones at the bottom.

Some further discussion ensued, and the meeting separated at half-past ten o'clock.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 22.

The Association assembled at the Beaufort Arms at nine A.M. precisely, and being well supplied with conveyances proceeded upon the first day's excursion.

MATHERNE was the first place visited, to view the church and the remains of the episcopal palace.

MATHERNE CHURCH was inspected under the guidance of Mr. Freeman, and described by him. He said it was less characteristic of the Monmouthshire district than many others, being larger and having a more perfect arrangement of nave and aisles. The building was interesting as showing how little they ought to dogmatize about the form of an arch, for there they had round arches upon early English columns, and adjoining them a pointed arch. The latter probably referred to an older period, and might have been a part of the ruin of an older church, or the remains of something begun and never finished. He considered that there was nothing Saxon or even Norman in the church, but that it was early English of about the thirteenth century. On the outside the English style could be clearly traced all round. The windows showed the influence which the Somersetshire models had had on the architects of this district, and the tower, which was perpendicular, was of the Somersetshire type. A discussion ensued, in which Mr. Newton said it was rarely that early English caps were found so carefully and delightfully moulded and preserved as those which supported the round arches. The exterior of the building was examined, and certain differences between the windows and peculiarities in the spring-courses and other anomalies remarked upon. Mr. White was of opinion that the church had been made up from the remains of some larger building, it not having been uncommon to build parish churches with the fragments of dismantled abbeys. In the chancel of this church is a plain mural tablet, commemorative of Theodoric, king of Glamorgan. The inscription states (see p. 201 *ante*) that Theodoric was slain in a battle fought at Tintern, on his way home, and that his son afterwards built a church where the body was buried; but Mr. Wakeman considers the truth of this tale highly improbable. Theodoric lived at Tintern, and therefore could not

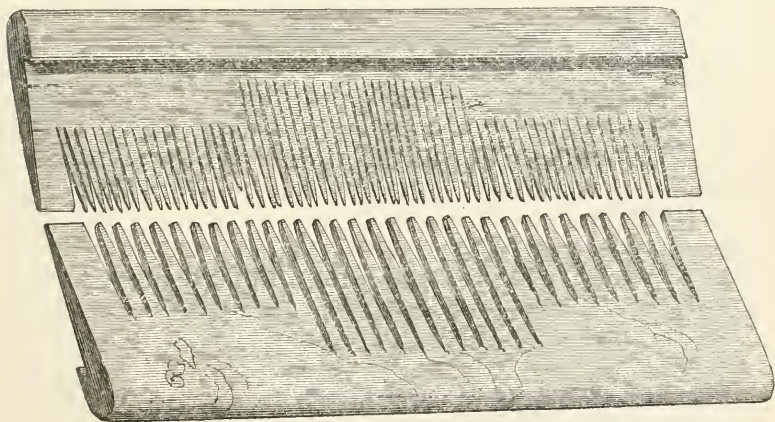
have been killed on his way home. Besides, there is no spot in the neighbourhood of Tintern where such an important battle as this could be fought. According to Mr. Wakeman this king was killed in a battle near Bath, and while the body was being conveyed by water the vessel became a wreck, and the body of Theodoric was washed ashore near this spot. Mr. Freeman also offered some remarks on the tablet to the memory of the martyr Theodoric. He said that evidences proved that there never was a great battle fought at Tintern. That in which Theodoric was wounded was fought on the other side of the Severn, near Bath, and the wounded man was brought across the river.

The party then proceeded to the ancient EPISCOPAL PALACE, inhabited by the bishops of Llandaff for about three centuries. Mr. WAKEMAN remarked that "bishop John de la Zouch, according to Browne Willis, built a considerable part of this mansion. He was consecrated in 1408 and died in April 1425. Willis was probably correct, as on the sides of the entrance gate leading into the court-yard, which was taken down about the middle of the last century, there was cut in the stone '*Anno regni regis Henrici v^o 7^o*,' and opposite, '*Anno Domini 1419.*' Bishop Miles Salley, who was consecrated 13th March, 1499, and died in Sept. 1516, according to Godwin, erected the chapel, hall, dining-room, and kitchen. He should perhaps have said rebuilt, as such apartments must have existed in the time of his predecessors. Browne Willis, in 1717 says, speaking of the palaces belonging to the see of Llandaff, '*And lastly Matherne; which last is at present in great measure kept up as having been, till within these few years, the constant place of residence of the bishops.*' Four bishops are known to have been buried in the church of Matherne, but there is no monument to either of them. Bishop Anthony Kitchen died in Oct. 1566; bishop Hugh Jones, 15th Nov., 1574; bishop William Blethyn, October 1590; and bishop William Murray, in March 1638-9. In the time of the Commonwealth the palace and estate was sold by the Parliament to Edward Green for £977 : 2s., on the 19th July, 1650, but restored to the see by Charles II."

From the palace at Matherne the Association proceeded to visit Mr. Hancock and Mr. Dew, members of the local committee residing at Moynes or Moinscourt, who received the members and visitors upon their arrival at that place. It is an interesting old house used as a farm. The entrance is through a venerable gate house having a turreted gallery (in which is now a museum) standing some distance from the house, but which in all probability was formerly joined to it by other buildings now levelled with the dust. The interior has been modernised, but the exterior walls are in good preservation, and exhibit the period to which they belong, and are of the early part of the seventeenth century.

Mr. WAKEMAN said that from the name of this ancient manor place many persons, without further inquiry, have assumed that it must have

been at some time a religious house, or at least had been the property of some one of the several monasteries which existed in the county before the Reformation. This, however, was not the case. In the reign of king John it belonged, with the manor, of which it was the chief place, or to use a legal phrase, the site, to the baronial family of De Knovil, who held it of the lords of Strugul or Chepstow by knight's service. The last of these, John De Knovil, died in 37th Edw. III, 1364, without issue, leaving sir John de Verdun, son of his father's sister Margaret, and John Mauduit, grandson of another sister Elizabeth, his heirs. His mother Margery, however, held the estate during her life, and married sir Thomas Moigne, who held it in her right, and is supposed to have taken down the original house, the foundations of which are yet visible, and rebuilt it, from which circumstance it acquired its present name as an alias to the original appellation now obsolete, except in deeds and the court rolls of the manor, in which it is still styled *Newton juxta Mathern* alias *Moyns Court*. Lady Margery died in 1362. Sir John de Verdun sold his moiety to Richard Pembridge. After several conveyances of these moieties, the whole at last became the property of sir John Barre, whose only daughter and heiress married Humphry earl of Devon, and afterwards sir Thomas Bouchier, son of the earl of Essex. Mr. Wakeman supposes it was sold, as John Arnold occurs as the owner, and afterwards John Gwilym Herbert of Itton, and by his heiress it passed to the Morgans of Pencoyd; by some of these the mansion was alienated from the manor, and became the property of Dr. Francis Godwin, consecrated bishop of Llandaff in 1601, who greatly enlarged and repaired the house. Having been translated to Hereford in 1617, it was soon after the property of Thomas Hughes, esq., who died in 1624. His granddaughter carried it to her husband Thomas Lyster of Shropshire, from whose



Bishop Godwin's Comb.

family it passed by marriage to John Owen, esq., and was sold to colonel

Thomas Lewis of St. Pierre, and is now the estate of the rev. Edmund Williams. A tablet, with bishop Godwin's arms, bore the date 1609, and on a door was 1610. A singularly made comb cut in boxwood was exhibited to the visitors as having belonged to the bishop, and found in his bed room. The woodcut (see preceding page) gives a faithful representation of the two portions of which it is composed, and exhibits the manner in which they fit into each other for preservation and the convenience of carriage.¹

The church of ST. PIERRE, and the mansion of C. J. Lewis, esq., were now visited and examined. The most interesting features in the church were an oak rood screen, and the slabs mentioned by Mr. Pettigrew.² The church is separated from the mansion by a court, and within the pleasure grounds. There is a good stained glass window on the south side of the chancel. Upon the party assembling in the courtyard of the mansion, Mr. Wakeman gave an account of the estate, which he said was "a manor held under a mesne fee of the lords of Caerleon by knight's service. The earliest subinfeudists were a family of the same name, De Sancto Petro, or De St. Pierre, and the objects which have more particularly attracted the notice of archæologists are the two monumental stones inspected in the church, which were found in 1764 in making some excavations in the churchyard. Inaccurate representations of both appeared soon after in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, and in the *Archæologia*; more correct representations have been published in the *Journal of the Archæological Institute*, from rubbings taken by the rev. F. T. Bayly. The inscription on one of them runs thus:—*Ici git le cors V de Sentpere preez pur li en bone manere Le l'hu pur sa pasion de phecez li done pardun. Amen P'R.*

"There can be no doubt that the person commemorated was one of the family of De St. Pierre, but a controversy has arisen as to the import of the v at the right-hand corner of the stone immediately before the words *De Sentpere*, which by most people is considered to be the initial of the Christian name of the deceased, and as Vrian was a favourite name in the only family of de Saint Pierre of which we have any account, and which acquired by marriage considerable property in Cheshire, it has been so read, and supposed to be intended for a Vrian de St. Pierre, who died in 1293. Others, on the contrary, contend that it is not an initial of a Christian name at all, and if it be, that it may stand for several other names as well as Vrian; and, lastly, Mr. Ormerod, the historian of Cheshire, is unwilling to allow that there was any connection between the family seated here and the barons of Malpas in Cheshire, and thinks that

¹ The arrangement of the different lengths of the teeth of bishop Godwin's comb will be found to give the form of a cross; a circumstance hardly to be attributed to accident in this case.

² See p. 221 *ante*.

the ancient owners of this estate took their surname from the locality. The opinion of Mr. Ormerod is entitled to very great respect in matters of this nature, yet I must venture to differ from him. As to the v being intended for an initial, having seen the stone, you can judge for yourselves whether it can be anything else. I am not aware of any instance of a monumental inscription since the Norman conquest wherein the individual is not designated by his Christian name or its initial or contraction.

“The parish of St. Pierre seems to have been formed subsequent to the Conquest, out of part of the adjoining one of Portscuot, in the boundary of which it appears to have been included in the entries in the *Liber Llandavensis*. Again, had it been an ancient Welsh church, it would have been called Llan-pedr, for though the Norman scribes made sad havoc of Welsh local names by their uncouth orthography, they did not alter them. It is unnecessary to say that St. Pierre is pure Norman French. It appears to me more probable that the first subinfeudist of this estate erected a church, dedicated it to his own patron saint, and called it St. Pierre, than that he took his surname from the locality. There is some confusion in the Cheshire pedigrees of the St. Pierres, owing to so many of them having been named Vrian; no less than six occur in various records and deeds prior to 1346. The Vrian de St. Pierre who married Idonea, daughter and coheir of David Le Clerk, baron of Malpas in Cheshire, who died in 1293, is said to have been the son of John, son of William, a younger brother of a count de St. Pierre, who came over to England in the reign of Richard I, between 1189 and 1199; from the length of the interval, it is probable there is some omission in this account, and in fact a Vrian de St. Pierre held lands in Berkshire in 1240, and was probably the same person as the husband of Margaret, described as a widow in 1266. In point of time this one may have been the father of the Vrian who married the heiress of Malpas, and would fill up the interval between the reign of Richard I and 1293 much more consistently; and, I think, he was probably the Vrian commemorated upon the tomb. It is certain neither the Vrian of Malpas, nor any of his descendants, ever held this place; the published accounts, therefore, which make it pass by marriage to the Cokesays and Grevilles, are altogether erroneous. The earliest mention of the name which by implication may be connected with this part of the country is in a mandate to the bailiff of Portsmouth, dated 22nd Dec. 1226, 11th Henry III, granting permission to Alanus de Scō Petro and Henricus de Scō Petro, two esquires of Richard Marshall, to pass over sea with eight rencine (ponies).

“Richard Marshall succeeded his elder brother William as lord of Caerleon, of which this place was a mesne fee, in 1231. It seems probable enough that one or other of these esquires was the first subin-

feudist; at all events, it shows a connexion with the family of the lords of Caerleon within nine years from the time that William Marshall the elder acquired it from its Welsh owners in 1217. In 1246 a Robert de Seō Petro, possibly a son of one of the former, held this estate, and was one of the jury upon the inquisition of his neighbour, Deneband of Portscuet. Vrian de St. Pierre, whose widow Margaret was living in 1266, comes next in order of date, but we have no means of connecting him with this estate, unless he were, as I have supposed, the person commemorated on the tombstone. A William de St. Pierre was seated here in 1270 and 1297; he could hardly have been the son of Robert living in 1246; it seems more probable that he was a grandson. Another William de St. Pierre was living in 1307 and 1319; he was the last of the name of whom I have found any mention; the estate passed possibly by marriage with an heiress to the family of De Mynstreworth, of Minsterworth in Gloucestershire. John de Mynstreworth, in 47th Edward III, 1374, forfeited his estate for joining the king's enemies in France, and the following year it was granted to sir Richard Northland for life. A few years afterwards, it was the property of sir David ap Philip, the ancestor of the present possessor. He was living in 1387 and 1393, and died in the reign of Henry V, or early in that of his successor. From this time it has continued in the uninterrupted possession of his descendants to the present time."

Some magnificent and colossal magnolias in the great courtyard of the mansion excited the admiration of the company, who were also much interested in the inspection of a fine portrait of Henry Marten, the regicide, who, during part of his imprisonment at Chepstow, was permitted, upon his parole of honour, to visit St. Pierre. After viewing the lake and the fine deer-park, the company repaired to the great dining-room, where, by the kind hospitality of Mr. Lewis, they were entertained at a handsome *déjeuner à la fourchette*. The President and visitors having made their acknowledgments to Mr. Lewis and his family for their kind attention, proceeded to

PORTSCUIT or PORTSKEWITT. The church was considered by Mr. Freeman as one of the best specimens of early architecture in South Wales and Monmouthshire, of which places it might be regarded as typical. An interesting object, which excited much attention, was a round arched doorway, discovered upon the breaking away of some plastering in the north wall of the church, with a Greek shaped cross over it, which was supposed to have been a priest's door, and bore either the Saxon or the earliest Norman character. The church is small, simple, and without aisles. The essential fabric, the chancel arch, doorway, etc., of plain yet clear Romanesque. It was known very well that Harold, in the reign of Edward the Confessor, built a house at Ports-kewett, which was destroyed by Caradoc Ap Gryffyth, the son of Griffyth

of South Wales, who had previously killed the great Gryffith of North Wales, and Mr. Freeman saw no reason to doubt the probability of Harold having built the church. As Harold was known to have built a house in this neighbourhood, which was destroyed in 1605, he thought it not improbable that he might have built this church also. The tower had a good deal of rough military character, and he had no doubt that the turrets upon it were intended either for defence or to give signals. The east window, and that of the south chancel, were rough and anomalous, and were probably produced by the rude hand of some local workman who endeavoured to imitate something better. In the churchyard is a cross in a very good state of preservation.

The party then proceeded to SOUTHBROOK to view the Roman encampment, remains of considerable magnitude, forming a semicircle. A great deal of interest was felt in viewing this encampment, the embankments and mounds of which were raised to the height of about twenty feet. It had a double ditch all round the semicircle. A good deal of discussion arose in consequence of one portion being open to the sea, and Mr. Wakeman was of opinion that it was once perfect, but had been destroyed by the encroachments of the sea; and he pointed out a reef of rocks connecting the main land with the little island in the channel called the Denny, as confirmatory of his opinion; but the dean of Llandaff expressed his idea that it was originally constructed in this form, having been intended to protect the invaders from the assaults of the ancient Britons until they had made good their footing.¹ The remains of an old chapel near the camp are replete with interest. The chancel arch bespeaks the period of transition from early English to decorated architecture, and the other parts correspond tolerably. The Association were able to make out the remains of an Easter sepulchre and credence table, and some fragments of the altar. The foot of the churchyard cross was likewise found performing the office of a water trough in an adjoining field. The parish now contains but one farmhouse and a cottage. It is a rectory valued at £175 *per annum*, and is now joined to Portske Witt.

The company then visited the fine castle of CALDICOT, situated about seven miles from Chepstow, and inspected it. With the exception of the outer walls, the keep, and some of the walls of the apartments near the gate, it was destroyed. It is a stately old ruin, and elicited admiration by its extent and the beauty of the masonry in the round tower or keep, and some other parts of the edifice. Mr. Wakeman ascribed its origin to Milo Fitzwalter, who built the castle of Gloucester, and was also said to have built that of Bristol and London, in the twelfth century, but Mr. Octavius Morgan, in his history, assigns it to Humphrey de Bohun, who married Milo's daughter. The castle was one of the very few mentioned

¹ Mr. Wakeman has kindly promised to enter upon this subject more fully in a future number of the *Journal*.

in Domesday Book, and formerly there was a free chapel within the walls. The walls contained traces of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The castle remained in the De Bohun family down to 1390 or 1400, when one of the daughters married Henry IV, and from that time it came to the crown, and belonged to the duchy of Lancaster, of which it was an apanage to the present time. Mr. Freeman considered that the oldest part of the building was some remains of a fireplace in the inner hall, which were early English. He could find nothing Norman in it. Mr. Wakeman had engaged to read a paper on the spot, relative to the history of the castle, but the grass being exceedingly wet, it was deemed more prudent to defer it to the evening.

CALDICOT CHURCH was then inspected. It was curious to such as had not seen many Welsh churches, from the tower being placed in the centre and the belfry standing between the nave and the chancel. Mr. FREEMAN said the type was not uncommon: portions of the church and the tower were either Norman or transitional work, but a great deal must have been done to the edifice in the fourteenth century. A north aisle had been added and the elaborations of the architecture were of the Somersetshire type.

The Association then proceeded to the church of Magor, about four miles off, an interesting edifice, very similar in architecture to many of the Somersetshire churches, and presenting the rudest work of the local style in juxtaposition with the richest work of Somersetshire, such as was found in Bath abbey and Wrington church. Like to that of Portskewit, it had a coved roof and rough military tower. The porch was extremely fine, and the pillars supporting the roof were ornamented with carved figures of angels bearing scrolls. A portion of the roof over the chancel remained in its pristine state, it being supported by wooden arches, and it was stated by one of the members that he recollected some years ago, before the present plaster-work ceiling, the roof of the whole church was of wood, and on panellings were painted figures of the apostles. The church had been very barbarously used, and it does not seem to be in much better hands at present. Originally there were probably no aisles to the church, but two had been added, which being carried along the outside of the centre tower, gave to the interior a transept.

An inspection of Roggeit church was abandoned, time not permitting its examination. The Association returned to Chepstow, and after the ordinary held an evening meeting at nine o'clock, when Mr. Whichcord, in the absence of Mr. Charles Baily, read a paper on Chepstow church, which gave rise to considerable discussion. The opinions entertained by Mr. Baily will be seen by reference to his paper, to be printed in a future number; but it may be necessary here to state that he conceives the few fragmentary portions remaining of its ancient structure to belong to the early part of the eleventh century, and that the church was anciently cruciform.

In this opinion Mr. Whichcord said, he himself coincided, and he formed his opinion from having visited the genuine works of the Normans, etc., in their own country. Had they seen the same style of architecture in Italy, they would have no hesitation in attributing it to the Romans, but as they knew that this church could not possibly have been built by the Romans, he believed that it might safely be attributed to the century preceeding the Norman invasion.

Mr. FREEMAN entirely differed both from Mr. Baily and Mr. Whichcord, and maintained that this was a pure Norman church, built in the form of a cross, with a tower in the centre; that the tower afterwards fell down and demolished the old church. The side aisles were subsequently removed, which detracted from its beauty and left the church a huge pile of deformity. In a paper (see *Archæologia Cambrensis*, vol. ii, New Series, pp. 1-8) which he had written a few years ago, he had dealt with very great severity on the architecture of this church, at the time of its alteration. He had seen many churches that had been very strangely and barbarously altered, but anything so strange and barbarous as were the alterations effected in this church he had never seen. Although the architecture might appear of a style previous to the Norman conquest, he held that was no rule to guide them in their decisions. Professor Willis had laid it down as a principle that such kind of architectural style was always to be considered of the Norman period. He condemned the revival of exploded notions on the subject, when professor Willis had for ever set the question at rest.

Mr. WHITE supported the view taken by Mr. Baily and Mr. Whichcord, both of whom were architects, and who, he thought, were quite as good judges in such matters as professor Willis, who was not an architect. He believed that many of our ancient edifices which were generally considered as Norman were built before that period. Some gentlemen would assign every thing to the Normans, and thus they collected together a number of ancient buildings as belonging to that period, from which they would have it inferred that the Normans built as much in ten years as could be now performed, with all the appliances of modern art, in fifty years. Now, he thought such a notion was most absurd. He was willing to concede that the Normans were great builders; but they often added to the structures already built, instead of pulling down everything they came near, and rebuilding afresh. But supposing that in some instances they did pull down the existing structures, which he admitted, what would become of the existing materials? Would they break up the old stones for roads? They would naturally work them into their modern structures, and thus give to pre-Norman art as much as possible a Norman appearance. He, therefore, maintained that much of the work now considered as early Norman, might, without any very great stretch of the imagination, be considered as dating prior to the conquest. For his own

part, he placed little reliance upon Norman chroniclers. He thought the chroniclers of the period preceding them quite as good authorities. Of course, after the Normans invaded England, they would reconsecrate their churches, and it was not too much to suppose that where a church had been rebuilt of the old material, or an addition made to the pre-existing edifice, the chronicler should call it a new church, that was consecrated in such a year. He considered, therefore, that where there were existing records that a structure formerly existed, and that that structure was built of stone, they might safely infer that some portion of the carved stone used in the building was pre-Norman.

Mr. FREEMAN said that in this district, of all others in England, they were the least likely to find Saxon architecture.

The dean of LLANDAFF could not hear the Norman chroniclers attacked, without raising his voice in favour of a people who were in general so truthful in their descriptions. From an inspection of Norman architecture in Normandy, where he had travelled, he was prepared to state that he had seen nothing pre-Norman in the church at Chepstow.

Sir FORTUNATUS DWARRIS, in terminating the discussion, said the object of the society was to arrive at the truth, and not say that a point was settled because one man had said so, when so much doubt existed in many minds. He admitted that professor Willis had done good service, but they must not pin their faith to his opinions upon all subjects.

Mr. WAKEMAN then read portions of a paper upon Caldicot castle, which he had previously read before the Caerleon Society, who had it printed; and the reader is therefore referred to the "Notes on the Architecture and History of Caldicot Castle," by Mr. O. Morgan and Mr. Wakeman, for the full record of his opinions. It may be sufficient for the present report to state, that after a few preliminary observations, he proceeded to remark that the castle in question was held by Duran, the sheriff at the time of *Domesday Book*, who had it from the king, when it was rated at a knight's fee and £6 a-year. At that time the land was chiefly covered by forest. From him it descended to his son, Walter Fitz-Roger, the builder of some castles, and, among others, that of Gloucester in 1122. The tenure of land was somewhat precarious at the time Duran possessed the lordship, and no doubt the knights who composed his train with a few tenants held their land in return for fee service alone. After noticing some peculiarities in the construction of the tower or keep, which was built on the solid ground—a mound being thrown up round it by the construction of the moat—he observed that Mr. O. Morgan attributed the building of the tower to Humphrey de Bohun, who married the heiress of Caldicot. It remained in that family till the year 1390 or 1400, when, by the marriage of one of the daughters to Henry IV, it reverted to the crown, and now formed an apanage of the duchy of Lancaster.

The meeting was then adjourned.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 23.

At nine, A.M., the Association quitted Chepstow for Tintern abbey. Upon their arrival they collected together at the eastern end; and the rev. Mr. HUGO delivered a paper upon the abbey and its founders. He commenced his paper by referring to the foundation of the Cistercian order, in 1098, by Robert, abbot of Molesme (a Benedictine house in Langres), who, despairing of improving the discipline of the Benedictines, obtained the pope's license, and retired to Cîteaux, near Chalons-sur-Saone, Burgundy; from which place the name of the order was derived. He alluded to their rigid discipline, enumerating various hardships which this austere rule compelled them to undergo. Their churches, regarded as structures, were of the first excellence,—very models of architectural beauty. Tintern abbey, one of these, had a world-wide reputation for almost unapproachable loveliness, and was dedicated, as were all the Cistercian houses, to the Virgin Mary. It owed its foundation to Walter de Clare, by whom it was built in 1131. The founder was the grandson of William Fitz Osbert, earl of Ew, to whom the Conqueror had given the manors of Wollaston and Tidenham. Mr. Hugo traced the genealogy of the founder through the Strongbow family, to the year 1176, when the only child of Richard Strongbow was given, by the king, in marriage to William Marshall earl of Pembroke. William Marshall was a princely benefactor to the church, notwithstanding which, and the fact of his having built and endowed many religious houses, both in England and Ireland, he was excommunicated by an Irish bishop, who charged him with the sacrilegious alienation of two manors belonging to his church; and his sons having refused to restore them, the bishop renewed the excommunication, and pronounced on them the curse of the church for that offence,—that they should die childless. In conformity with this, Mr. Hugo stated that it was at least a remarkable fact that all his five sons died without issue. William, who succeeded his father, granted a charter to the abbey of Tintern, dated at Strigul (Chepstow), the 22nd of March, 1223;¹ and it was that interesting document from which their knowledge of the circumstances of the foundation was derived. Mr. Hugo read the Latin charter which confirmed the several possessions of the abbey in the monks, for his soul's health, and the souls' health of his family; but the whole of the male line dying, he was succeeded in the possession by his sister Maud, the eldest of the female heirs, who married Bigod earl of Norfolk and Suffolk. He had two sons, Hugh and Roger, the latter of whom granted a charter to the monks of "Tyntern abbeye", which was printed by Dugdale. A large number of the benefactors to Tintern abbey were recorded by William of Worcester,

¹ See Dugdale's *Monasticon*, vol. v. pp. 267-269.

who also preserved a memorandum to the effect that, in the year 1287, the monks of the convent entered the church of Blessed Mary of Tintern to celebrate divine service in the new building; that in the following year they took possession of the choir; and in October celebrated the first mass at the great altar, the dedication day being the 28th of July. Among the benefactors of the abbey were earls Gilbert and Robert, Isabella countess of Pembroke, Richard I, king of England; Sibilla, countess, mother of William earl of Pembroke; John, king of France; and Blanche, queen of the same kingdom; Margaret countess of Flanders; Anselm, and Matilda de Clare countess of Gloucester and Hereford. The next document connected with the abbey was the taxation of pope Nicholas IV, in 1291, who at that time rated the possessions of Tintern at £70 : 4 : 8.¹ Mr. Hugo then proceeded to give some sources whence Dugdale had derived his documentary information, and then adverted to some of the historical details connected with the place for upwards of two hundred and thirty years. The chronicles of the abbey were totally lost, nor could they tell even as much as the names of the abbots. One impression only, as far as he knew, remained of the seal; it was much mutilated, and had been appended to an instrument in the sixth year of Henry VIII, appointing Charles earl of Worcester, Henry Somerset, and Lord Herbert, his son and heir apparent, chief stewards of the manor of Acle in Norfolk.² The seal gave a representation of the Virgin and child, seated under an ornamented arch, and an abbot with his crozier, in the niche, praying on his knees. Nearly the whole of the legend was gone, the only letters being "....RII. BEATE...."

In the parliamentary writs there was a record of the abbot of Tynterne having been summoned to a council of the clergy, held at Westminster, 1294, and also to various parliaments, held at different times and places, up to 1316; and, according to Leland,³ a sanctuary was granted to Tintern. William of Worcester visited the church in his rambles, and left several interesting memoranda, to some of which Mr. Hugo referred.⁴ The charters of the abbey furnish no additional information, they having all been granted within twenty years of the completion of the church. After that period they were left in gloom, until, in the twenty-eighth year of Henry VIII (1537), the site was granted to Henry earl of Worcester. The remaining intelligence in relation to this place was such as could be obtained from the writings of tourists who had, from time to time, been attracted to view the desolation.

The delivery of the paper having terminated, Mr. WAKEMAN stated that he possessed a *fac-simile* of the seal of the abbey, and copies of all

¹ Dugdale, vol. v, p. 265.

² Given in the Appendix to Dugdale, Num. vi.

³ Collectanea, tom. i, p. 104.

⁴ See *Itinerarium Willelmi de Worcestre*, whose entries are given in Dugdale, vol. v, p. 266.

the charters connected with the building, which he should be happy to place at the disposal of the Association. The rev. Mr. Hugo then, accompanied by the president and the dean of Llandaff, conducted the party around the ruins, pointing out its several portions, entering minutely into their special characteristics, and marking the sites of the chapter house, the vestry, the sacristy, hospitium, refectory, kitchen, dole window, etc., etc.

Having inspected every portion remaining of the abbey, some of the party proceeded to view an adjoining building known as St. Anne's chapel, and popularly believed to be of a date anterior to the abbey, and probably used as a place of worship by the workmen and others during the building of the abbey. Mr. White, Mr. Whichcord, and others, were, however, of opinion that it was a somewhat modern erection, or the ruin of an old gateway leading to the chase, and that the window had been transferred from the refectory, with which it precisely corresponded in style. The building evidently comprises some masonry of a comparatively recent period; but there are the remains of a buttress on the outside, facing the abbey, which probably formed, with some other bits of the building, a portion of the original structure. An old doorway is also of an early age; but it was considered probable that it had been placed in its present position.

After examining this building some of the associates returned again to the abbey, to inspect more minutely the remains of the offices, and the fragments of masonry which were lying about. In the refectory, the pulpit, from which it was the habit of one of the monks to preach to the others while partaking of their meals, was pointed out. Some remains of bosses, which had probably formed the centres of the arches in the nave and chancel, excited much attention from the exceeding beauty of their ornamentation. They were enriched with wreaths of oak leaves and acorns beautifully sculptured. Much interest was also felt in the examination of the remains of the old grave-stones about the ruin, and by some portions of columns which had been recently dug out from the earth. Mr. Williamson was of opinion that if the closely adjacent orchards were excavated, it was probable that some valuable treasures of the domestic offices of the establishment might yet be discovered.

The party now reentered the carriages, and having driven to the bottom of the Moss Cottage walk, they commenced the ascent to the far-famed Windcliff, the glorious prospect from whose summit, into no less than nine counties, commanding views of the Wye and Severn, with the Bristol Channel and the distant hills of Gloucestershire, elicited expressions of admiration and delight from every beholder. Having descended to the road, they again pursued their journey; and having gone through the beautiful demesne of Piercefield, where refreshments were kindly provided by Mr. Thompson, they returned to Chepstow at five o'clock.

At the evening meeting a paper "On the Territories of Vortigern, the ancient British King, on the Wye and in the South of Wales", by the rev. Beale Poste, was read. (See pp. 226-231 *ante*.)

The rev. Mr. HUGO made a few remarks upon the peculiar beauty and rhythm of some of the old Latin monkish hymns. These remarks were made in explanation of his pronouncing the word "huic", in the morning, as a word of two syllables, which was necessary in order to make it scan.

Mr. WHICHCORD submitted to the Association the following observations on the subject of Fortification, time permitting little more than a general view of the most prominent features belonging to those of the different eras:—"A consideration of the subject," he observed, "would demonstrate that, as in all others, the structures raised for the purposes of defence by our forefathers were most apt and fitting for their purpose; that the modifications in their plans and details took place as the science of war advanced; and that, independently of the more recognised features determining the age of the architecture, the plan of the building and its arrangements for purposes of warfare, would fix the date assignable to the erection. The facility of accomplishing this is, however, much impaired by the various alterations which from time to time have been made in older buildings, whether arising from mere increase in size, or modifications rendered necessary as new and hitherto unknown engines were brought to bear. This it is which gives to the architect and antiquary great difficulty in assigning a date to castellated remains, and makes it more than ever necessary to invoke the aid of records and tradition.

"The science of fortification is divided into two distinct branches, viz. that which existed from the most remote antiquity to the introduction of gunpowder, in the thirteenth century, and the works executed from that date to the present day. The former takes us back to the cities mentioned in Holy Scripture, particularly in the books of Judges (chap. i, v. 24), Samuel, and the two books of Kings, in which are recorded the taking of Jericho, Ai, Jerusalem, and other cities. In these accounts it will be found that continual reference is made to walls, vallies, secret entrances, etc., showing that, in common with all strongholds prior to the discovery of gunpowder, there were lofty and strong walls, built with openings, or machicolations, for the purpose of hurling missiles when attacked. This, with the additional precaution of towers to secure the angles, and gates, was, it would appear, all that was deemed necessary as a security against the attacks of scaling, undermining, battering, or assault by mounds or galleries.

"The changes in the plan of fortified places were, therefore, only subject to the modifications which improved mechanical skill and the progress in the arts made general, as well as from time to time the necessity for guarding against the more powerful catapulta, employed for attack.

It may be remarked that, in all early sieges, the advantage was infinitely in favour of the besieged, in comparison to the relative footing at the present day.

“Of Roman fortifications in this country, in addition to the many examples existing in the remains of walls and towers, may be cited that stupendous work known as the Roman Wall, extending from the Solway Firth to the mouth of the Tyne, so ably and elaborately treated by our associate, Dr. Bruce. Without following the learned author into the speculations of whether or not this magnificent work be really fortifications of distinct periods, the section of the wall as it now exists, demonstrates the use of earth-works on a large scale. Upon examination this will be seen to consist of a wall with a ditch on the northern side, and a vallum, or turf-wall, on the southern. Between these were placed the watch-towers, castles, etc.; and the space was thus a defended military way. The width of this way was generally about sixty or seventy yards, but varied considerably.

“Amongst the numerous remains of Roman castra, we may be permitted to glance for a moment at the interesting remains in Kent, particularly in the neighbourhood of the coast. One of the most perfect specimens extant is that of Richborough castle, near Pegwell bay, assigned by tradition as the landing-place of Hengist and Horsa. The castle is bounded by the river Stour on its eastern side, and is the boundary of the Isle of Thanet. It is a noble work, and the remains are calculated to impress the observer by their solidity and massiveness, and with somewhat of awe when we reflect that these walls are eighteen hundred years old, from ten to fourteen feet in thickness, and of a height of twenty-five to thirty-two feet, with solid and massive foundations; built with that consummate skill which presents for ages the perfect face which we have now learnt to be a type of Roman handicraft, and which has outlived many a proud work of more modern creation. The external face of these walls is peculiarly interesting; and it is probable that a luxuriant growth of ivy, which has now covered their venerable surface, may have in some measure conduced, during the more recent ages, to preserve them in the perfection in which they now appear; injured, not so much by the damage from the elements, as by the ruthless hand of man. The facing of these walls was made of squared Portland ashlar, diminished in the size of the block as the courses got higher. These courses ranged one above the other, from five to ten stones deep, and are then divided by a horizontal course of tiles in a double row. These tiles are of a yellowish red colour, and very perfect. The mass of the walls is composed of a kind of concrete formed of boulders, with flints and rubble, and the whole is well mixed, and of great strength.

“The area of the castrum is about five acres, and in the north wall is the entrance gate, formerly called *Porta Principalis*, but now the postern

gate. On the west side is the Decuman gate, the name of which is derived from the word *decem*, as through it ten men could pass abreast. The flanking towers are sufficiently evident on the west and south sides; and it is conjectured that similar ones existed on the other sides. Within the walls of this castrum is a large table of masonry, some 150 feet in length by 50 feet in breadth, the use of which has been the subject of much careful research and antiquarian discussion; and although many feasible theories have been hazarded, nothing has yet been discovered to absolutely determine its purpose. It seems reasonable, however, to suppose it was a portion of the fortifications of the place. Upon this is another mass of masonry, of a cruciform shape, which, it is suggested, had been used as a chapel, and is possibly of more recent date.

“Amongst the earlier records in which the Welsh fortresses are mentioned, about A.D. 607 or 612, is the contest between Ethelfrith, the conqueror of Bernicia, and the Cymri. The Welsh forces under Brocmail, king of Powis, were accompanied by the monks of Bangor, twelve hundred in number, praying for the success of their countryman; when Ethelfrith attacked the monks first, and destroyed them, which so appalled Brocmail that he fled, and Bangor subsequently fell into the hands of the conqueror. Leland, in his Itinerary, mentions this town as being ‘the campace of a wallid towne, and yit remainith the name of a gate, caullid Port Hogan by north, and the name of another, Port Clays, by south.’ We learn that, subsequently to this date (610), Cæolwulph, from Wessex, advanced on the Cymry into the province of Glamorgan; and that the inhabitants hastened, in fright at the number of the invaders, to Tewdric their former king, who was leading a solitary life amongst the loveliness of Tintern. It is related that when the royal hermit beheld the dreaded Saxons on the Wye, the remembrance of his own former achievements inspired him with hope, and he drove the invaders over the Severn, but was mortally wounded in the engagement.

“In the subsequent wars of the Welsh kings we learn of the feats of arms of Cadwallar, that hero of bard-worship, in revenge for the ingratitude of Edwin king of Mercia, whose early years had been tended by the father of Cadwallar, and, upon arriving at sovereignty, waged war on his benefactor’s son, and was eventually defeated by that son. The successes of Cadwallar seem to have been very great subsequently to this; and he is reported to have been conqueror in fourteen great battles and sixty skirmishes, but at last he was defeated by the Bernician forces.

“It is more than probable, that during these wars between the Welsh and Saxon kings, fortresses and castles were continually erected; but we have no record sufficiently definite to point to the examples. Many have been conjectured to be Saxon, which have afterwards, on the authority of learned antiquaries, been pronounced as Norman; it however seems

unfair to leap over the great interval during which the Anglo-Saxons inhabited and controuled the country, and to proceed at once from the time the Romans quitted to the advent of the Normans; but such has been the fashion. I am, however, much disposed to consider a great portion of both ecclesiastical and castellated remains to belong to the Saxon, and not to the Norman times. There can be no question that the conqueror gave every facility, even forced his retainers, to erect strongholds over every part of the kingdom; but he must have been most extraordinarily successful in his endeavours, and possessed of the aid of mechanical science which we believe to be the peculiarity of the present day, to produce in so short a period all the numerous works that are attributed to him and his immediate successors.

“The several matters comprised in a castle of this date show an advancement in the system of defence, inasmuch as it is composed of several lines, one within the other. Thus we have the outer ballium or court, the inner court, and the great stronghold or keep. The wall bounding the outer ballium was surrounded by a moat or ditch, and strengthened at intervals by towers. This outside wall was sometimes embattled on both sides, so that if besiegers made their entry into the inner court they could be attacked on both sides. Great care was always taken in defending the entrance, by means of flanking towers, portecullises, etc., which could at a moment be lowered down on an invading army, as well as of ingenious contrivances over the gateway for pouring down melted metal and missiles. Occasionally the entrance was defended by an outwork or barbican.

“The inner ballium had an embattled wall defending it from the outer, and within this wall was placed the chapel and military quarters, and any other dwellings that might be required.

“The keep was the last stronghold, and its entrance was fortified and commanded by loop-holes in the main walls. The keep in Norman castles was generally rectangular, and built with prodigious strength, often of four stories in height. The walls of these so-called Norman keeps were frequently twelve to twenty feet thick: those of Conisborough, which is circular on plan, are fifteen feet thick; the basement contained the dungeons and a draw-well, the remains of which are very curious. Many of our Associates will remember this very interesting feature, which we examined last year at the Congress at Rochester. The upper floors of the keep were, in fact, the residence of the great feudal chieftains, and the magnificent architecture of many attest with what luxury they were fitted.

“Of the castles built in the twelfth century, may be cited that at Beaumaris, in the principality, after the victory of Henry II over prince Llewellyn; and many others were added to, amongst which are Caernarvon and Conway. To the fourteenth century (Edw. I to Henry IV), the golden



age of European chivalry, are to be ascribed some of the most lordly castles, amongst which a great part of that of Chepstow ranks; and Carnarvon castle, which was both a garrison and a palace, was built by Edward I after his return from the Crusades. A peculiarity exists in this latter case in the system of fortifying the entrance; it has three portcullises, and some additional plans for pouring engines of destruction from the soffit. Of later date may be cited the works at Southampton circa 1377.

"Throughout Europe the fortified places bore a strong resemblance to each other. To the holy wars, to which every country contributed its chivalry, may be attributed this unity. By many it has been considered that the architecture of our castles is of oriental character.

"Perhaps the most magnificent specimen of medieval fortification was that at Constantinople, rendered the more interesting from the fearful siege to which it was subjected by Mahomet II in 1453, and in which the older siege implements were aided by the novel ones incident to the discovery of gunpowder. Among these was a piece of brass ordnance, cast at Adrianople by Urban, of stupendous and almost incredible magnitude; a measure of twelve palms was assigned to the bore, and the stone bullet weighed above six hundred pounds. Although it is possible, and I believe was so in fact, that this monstrous piece of artillery did not perform the marvels expected, yet we read that fourteen batteries, each containing one hundred and thirty guns, thundered at once on the more accessible places. It must be remembered, however, that it was considered good work to discharge these cannon seven times in the day. The land side of Constantinople was protected by a double wall and a ditch one hundred feet deep. This line of fortification, which was from three to four English miles in length, was attacked by the artillery, together with all the old engines that could be brought to bear. We read of the Turks pushing their approaches to the edge of the ditch, and attempting to fill the enormous chasm and build a road to the assault; the struggle was in filling and clearing the ditch by the besiegers and besieged respectively. Mining the walls in the olden way was attempted, but the application of gunpowder to this purpose was not yet known. Throughout, this memorable siege is distinguished as the transition in the science of war between the ancient and modern method.

"Gibbon, in his description of the siege, remarks that the cannon were mingled with the mechanical engines for casting stones and darts, the bullet and battering-ram were directed against the same walls; nor had the discovery of gunpowder superseded the use of the liquid and unextinguishable fire. A wooden turret was advanced on rollers: this portable magazine of ammunition and *fascines* was protected by a threefold covering of bull's hides; incessant volleys were securely discharged from the loop-holes; in the front, three doors were contrived for the alternate sally and retreat of the soldiers and workmen. They ascended by a

staircase to the upper platform, and as high as the level of that platform a scaling-ladder could be raised by pulleys to form a bridge, and grapple with the adverse rampart.' This may probably be regarded as appertaining to the history of one of the most memorable sieges on record, and as descriptive of the most vigorous attack to which fortifications were at this æra subject.

"As the manufacture of gunpowder improved, and the implements to which it was applied became better adapted to their work, it was found that an entirely different system of fortification was necessary, and instead of depending for success against attack by the height of the walls, it was found desirable to increase in width and adopt the ramparts of moderate elevation, so that a besieger might be kept at a greater distance by outworks.

"This, during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, appears to be all that was done to improve existing strongholds. As the engines of destruction, however, still improved, it was ascertained that the old towers at the angles were insufficient to protect the wall between them, and it was found that new arrangements must be made, effectually to resist an attack aided by the new implements. The modern system of fortification was now introduced, and had been in vogue on the continent some time prior to its introduction into England. The most eminent engineer in connexion with this art was the marshal de Vauban, who, in the reign of Louis XIV (*circa* 1650), practically introduced the new system of fortification by means of bastions and ravelins, the bastions occupying the place of the former towers, the space between them being known as a curtain, while the ravelin and space in advance of the curtain were introduced for the purpose of fortifying the approach. All the works were made to mutually defend and support each other. All without the great fosse was known as outworks, while the bastions and all within were called the *enceinte*. This system of improved fortification would at first appear to have been impregnable, but that the same genius that contrived it also designed a method of attack based on the same mathematical calculations, by which, instead of attacking in front as of old, the guns were brought to bear on the angular line of the covered way, and raking them in their length, dislodging the guns and rendering the line powerless. This defect was obviated by altering the construction of the outworks, by adding redoubts at the angles of the covered way.

"This, in few words, was the system of Vauban, improved and modified to suit different localities and circumstances. It was subsequently added to and improved with complicated outworks, and lines within lines. The plan was very systematic, arranged at angles at which every point could be commanded, and the distance between the bastions such that the artillery could do execution. The greatest authorities now look to

detached forts and powerful outworks, as of greater importance than the *enceinte*.

“In the early fortifications the advantage was infinitely in favour of the besieged ; as, shut up within their powerful walls, they could at their ease hurl offensive weapons and discharge their arrows at the soldiers below, who were obliged to come close up to the walls to work their rams, to make their mines, or to wheel their galleries ; and when at last a breach was made and the rampart gained, the struggle was not equal between troops hitherto employed in comparative ease upon the walls, and the besiegers, fatigued and harrassed by the exposure to which they had been so long subjected. It then required an overwhelming force successfully to attack a stronghold, and was a work prodigal of life and of long duration. The modern system is, on the contrary, in favour of the besiegers, the attack being made by means of approaches, technically called parallels, by which a besieging force, first throwing up a covering bank at a distance, gradually, by zig-zag approaches, gain their end, impeded, as far as lays in the power of the besieged, by means of defensive mines or galleries made to intercept the enemies’ approaches ; but I believe it is now the opinion of high military authorities, that it is only an affair of time and courage, to ensure the fall of any fortification by means of modern siege operations ; that of course skill and courage on the one side or the other will lengthen or shorten the time, but that eventually a stronghold once regularly besieged must fall.”

Mr. Whichcord concluded by remarking that time would not permit of making allusion to other matters which might fairly be considered as belonging to the subject of medieval fortification, especially the fortified bridges, amongst which he classed Monnow bridge, over the river of that name, where it joins the Wye at Monmouth, fortified by gates and towers, and worthy of inspection by the members of the Association.

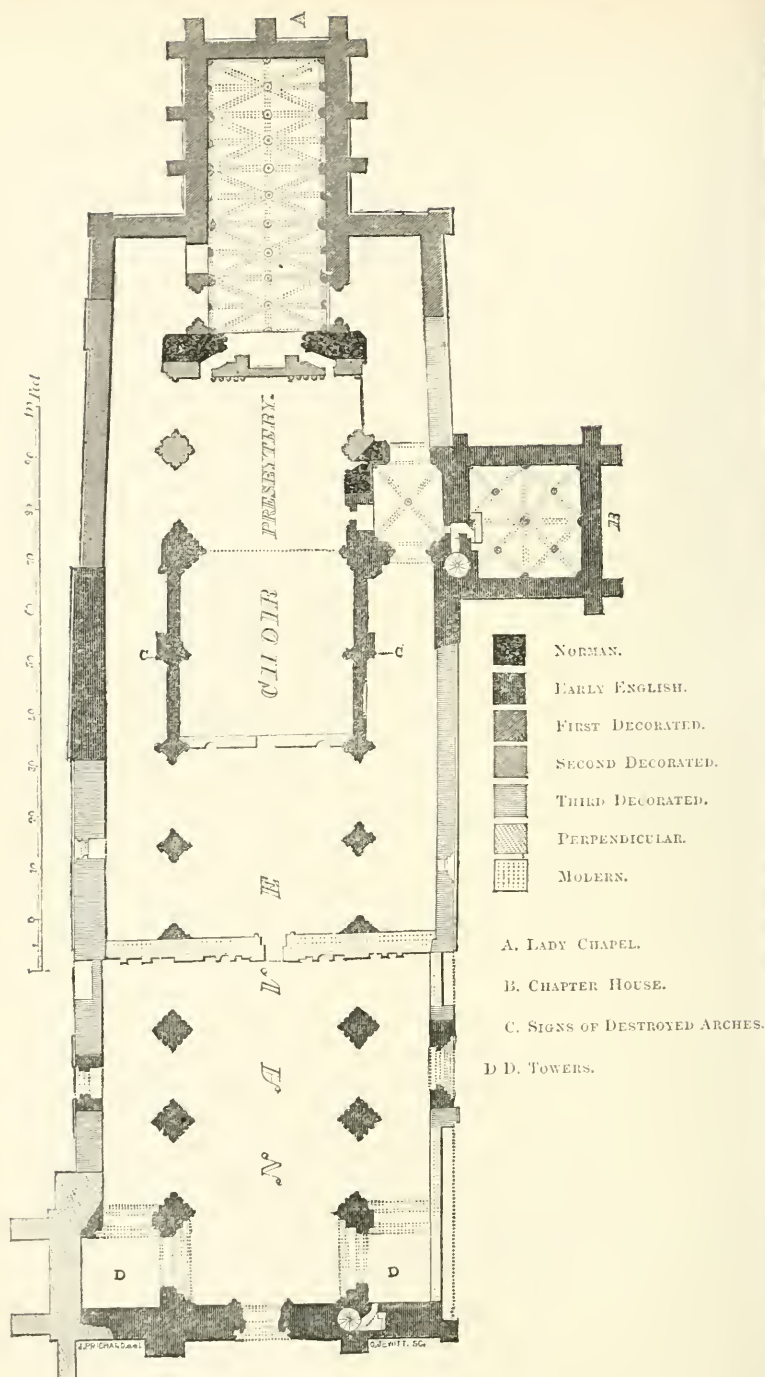
A discussion in relation to several points embraced in Mr. Whichcord’s observations, terminated the business of the evening.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 24.

By an early train the Association quitted Chepstow, to proceed to an inspection of Llandaff cathedral, now undergoing extensive repairs with a view to restoring it to its former condition. The company having assembled in the prebendal house adjoining the cathedral, the very rev. Dr. Conybeare, dean of Llandaff in the chair, Mr. E. A. Freeman, who has devoted much time and attention to this edifice and published an excellent work upon it,¹ delivered a lecture to the Association, which he commenced by congratulating the Society upon being the first English body

¹ Remarks on the Architecture of Llandaff Cathedral ; with an Essay towards a History of the Fabric. Lond., 1850. 8vo.





GROUND PLAN OF LLANDAFF CATHEDRAL.

of archæologists who had ever extended their researches into South Wales. The cathedral of Llandaff (church upon Taff, the name of the river), he observed, though not of large size or beautiful outline, offered points of architectural interest inferior to none in the kingdom, and both its history and architecture were very singular. It is said to be the oldest episcopal see in the kingdom, a church having existed here ever since the first introduction of Christianity into Britain.

By the kindness of Mr. Freeman we are enabled to present to the Association a ground-plan of the cathedral (see plate 27), derived from his excellent publication, to which those desirous of more particular information, in regard not only to the architecture but also to the history of the building, must necessarily refer. From this work we learn, that there is good reason for believing "that Llandaff cathedral once presented, or was at least designed to present, an appearance, not only in detail, but in the grandest features of its external outline, as far removed from the conceptions of its original builders, as it is from any notion that could be derived from the condition to which the church has finally been brought. Outline, ground-plan, ritual arrangement, have been completely altered more than once; a small building has been gradually developed into a large one, and nearly all of this has occurred, apparently without any chronicler to record some of the strangest transmutations in architectural history".¹

"The church has been subjected to such a number of alterations, following so closely upon one another, that it is often almost impossible to ascertain their exact extent; and, moreover, additional difficulties are produced by the most important reparations having been so gradually carried on, as to allow of considerable changes of style during their continuance; some of them, too, have produced such strange and unaccountable patching; in a word, the whole character of the building, and of the changes which it has undergone, is so thoroughly anomalous, that to unravel its history is one of the hardest tasks that the architectural inquirer could have undertaken."²

Mr. Freeman refers the existing features of the cathedral to three main heads:—

I. The original Romanesque fabric of bishop Urban, the earliest building on the site, of which any portion remains.

II. Large Early English additions, which prolonged the church to its present extent westward.

III. A systematic Decorated repair, remodelling the Norman portions left under No. II, and rebuilding nearly the whole of the external walls. Under this head he reckons the lady chapel, though rather Early English than decorated, because it has no connexion with the earlier lancet work, while it can hardly be separated from decorated repairs apparently carried on uninterruptedly from its completion.

¹ Freeman's *Llandaff*, p. 43.

² *Ib.*, p. 44.

Finally, there is Jasper Tudor's perpendicular tower.

The earliest portions of the present building were constructed by bishop Urban, in 1120,¹ on the foundations of an old British cathedral, and from the investigation Mr. Freeman had made, he was induced to think that the church of Urban was very small, though one possessing a considerable degree of ornament, consisting only of a nave and chancel, with possibly a polygonal tower on one side, and that his nave survives in the present presbytery, while the Lady chapel occupies the site of his chancel,² and that early in the thirteenth century a new nave and choir were added to the west of it, with no architectural division between them nor any central tower or transept.

Mr. Freeman described the subsequent alterations, which were in the decorated style, and appeared to have been made at three different periods. These brought the cathedral into its present state, and it was completed by the erection of a perpendicular tower by Jasper Tudor; but in less than a century after its completion the work of destruction commenced, and it fell by degrees into the most abject and wretched condition. In order in some degree to remedy this state of affairs, an architect named Wood was, about one hundred years ago, brought over from Bath to repair it, which he did in the most barbarous manner, completely destroying its architectural beauty. He it was who erected the ugly building and the doorway to which he alluded, and altogether spent about £7,000 in rendering the edifice one of the most unsightly that could be seen.³ Mr. Freeman then proceeded to

¹ According to Leland and Godwin. It was anciently dedicated to St. Peter; the new one by Urban to St. Dubritius, St. Teileiau, and St. Oudoceus. St. Dubritius was consecrated the first archbishop of Wales, and is reckoned the first bishop of the see. (See Dugdale, vol. vi, p. 1217.) *Dyfrig Beneurog* (Dubricius the golden-headed) was a native of Pembrokeshire, and advanced from Llandaff to the archbishopric of Caerleon. Urban was consecrated 1108, and died in 1133. To him appears to be justly due the merit of building Llandaff cathedral. When he came to the see, in 1108, the church was in a most dilapidated condition, and was also of very small dimensions, being only twenty-eight feet long, fifteen feet wide, and twenty feet high. Dean Conybeare, in the *Archæologia Cambrensis* (vol. i, p. 25, New Series), says that to these dimensions must be added two small aisles, and also a circular porch, having a radius of twelve feet, noticed by the monastic historian, and which would therefore extend the entire length to forty feet. This, however, still shows the pre-Norman building to have been of very small proportions. Urban commenced the new structure in 1120, which he was enabled to do through his application to pope Callixtus II at the council of Rheims in 1119, from whom he obtained letters to the king, the archbishop of Canterbury, the clergy and principal persons in his diocese, exhorting them to afford him assistance towards undertaking the necessary repairs. His success was so complete that he obtained a sufficient sum to commence the building of a new church, some portions of which, as shown by Mr. Freeman, remain to this day.

² Freeman's *Llandaff*, p. 60.

³ "To understand the lowest depth, to see what art and taste could come to, it is necessary to undertake a journey to Llandaff. Mr. Wood's performance was not a preference of one style to another, but the deliberate substitution of

speak of the present restoration in terms of the warmest admiration, and confessed that while, as a general rule, he was not overfond of church restoration, the manner in which this was being carried out was an example for imitation, and which he should wish to see adopted in every church in the kingdom. He was, however, of opinion that the original roof was flat, whereas the one now in course of construction was open; and he gave reasons in support of that opinion, but observed it was a point on which he would not dogmatize, it being very much a matter of taste. He then spoke of the perpendicular architecture of the tower as being a close imitation of Somersetshire work. Indeed, he observed that throughout South Wales, as well as other places, the Somersetshire churches had formed a model pretty generally received. In conclusion, he called the attention of the society to the extremely interesting church of St. Woolos, at Newport, which was also now undergoing restoration. It had a coved roof, and he observed that something was going to be done with it: he did not mean barbarously, but he always trembled when he heard of a coved roof being repaired, and he wished some person interested in the neighbourhood would take an opportunity of examining the subject, with a view to prevent anything like mistaken improvement. He considered the church in question well deserved a visit from the society.

Mr. Freeman then accompanied the members and visitors to the cathedral, where he pointed out the peculiar characteristics of the architecture, and described the splendid west front, which was extremely rich, and the windows, which offered the purest specimen of early English extant. The extremely ugly work of Wood was plainly visible, and required no pointing out, but the very curious manner in which the arches were cut through the walls excited a good deal of attention, the portions where the Norman work ended and the later began being pointed out and explained. On one point all were agreed, viz., that the restoration was being carried out in the most admirable manner; and it reflects the very highest credit upon the present and late dean, through whose instrumentality mainly,

ugliness for beauty; yet more, the ostentatious rearing on high of ugliness in the midst of beauty. Really the modern choir of Llandaff is in no style at all. To call it Italian is a compliment almost as undeserved as to call it Grecian: it is simply hideous and unmeaning, without reference to any principles of art whatever. A well-proportioned range, even of engaged columns, is, after all, no contemptible object; and how grand interiors may be made in the Italian style, the structures already referred to may testify. But at Llandaff there is nothing of the kind; there is no architecture at all. It must rank not with St. Paul's and Queen's college, not with Whitehall, or the Clarendon; but with the meanest forms of the dwellinghouse and the conventicle. The sides are utter barrenness; the west front has just enough pretence to render its vulgar display still more glaring. How this *could* be; how such a structure could ever have been preferred, actually and seriously, as a matter of artistic taste, to the glorious fabric lying in ruins at its side, is something which I must leave to the moral philosopher to explain; the architectural historian must resign the attempt as beyond his powers."—Freeman's *Llandaff*, p. 88.

and under whose direction, the work has proceeded. Up to the present the choir and a portion of the nave have been completed, together with the clerestory; and, as it is intended to carry out the work of restoration completely to the ancient and beautiful west front, in all probability the cathedral will be one of the finest in England. The stone used is Bath oolite. The company then visited the lady chapel, now used as a choir for the performance of divine service, where the vaulted roof was shown, and also the chapter-house, the roof of which was of singular beauty.

After inspecting the exterior of the cathedral and visiting the grounds of the bishop, the company proceeded to the residence of the dean of Llandaff, where a very magnificent collation awaited them. Here they were received and entertained by the dean and Mrs. Conybeare, and afterwards they proceeded to Newport, and thence to Caerleon, the site of the ancient Isca Silurum.

For the history of Caerleon, the reader is referred to an article by Mr. Wakeman, printed in the third volume of the *Archæologia Cambrensis* (pp. 328-344), read at the first annual meeting of the Caerleon Archæological Society in July 1848. This article is accompanied by an engraving of the corporate seal of Caerleon. The date of incorporation is unknown, and no information has yet been obtained as to the period when, or the reason why, the municipal body ceased to exist. Mr. Wakeman conjectures that it continued down to the time of the civil wars, when the charters of several small towns of the marches were either forfeited or ceased to be acted upon. Mr. Wakeman cites two of the mayors in the reign of Henry VII, Thomas Trehearn in 1505, and Roger ap Llewelyn in 1507. Ralph ap Griffith was bailiff and coroner in 1475; Thomas ap Morgan was coroner in 1468, and Jevan ap Gwilym in 1523. Howel ap Roger and William ap David are mentioned as sergeants in 1505. The burgesses were exempt from the tolls throughout the kingdom by several royal charters. Mr. Wakeman thinks the corporation was abolished by the crown for some act of the inhabitants, of which no record is known to have been preserved.¹

The first place visited at Caerleon was the museum, where the company were received by Mr. J. E. Lee, through whose instrumentality, aided by the munificence of sir Digby Mackworth, bart., the museum was established. Time permitted only of making a cursory examination of the various objects of antiquity procured from this locality, but they were so admirably arranged that no object of importance escaped attention. The reader is referred to Mr. Lee's publications, before mentioned (see page 205), for an enumeration and description of the various fibulæ, slabs, altars, sarcophagi, personal ornaments, carvings, tesserae,

¹ See *Archæologia Cambrensis*, vol. iv, p. 62. This volume also contains a valuable paper, by Mr. Wakeman, on the lords marchers, which will amply repay the reader by its perusal.

vases, urns, pateræ, etc., etc., which are here accumulated, representations of some of which have already appeared in this *Journal*.

Under the conduct of Mr. Lee, the Association now proceeded to view the site of the Roman villa (a brief account of which has been given in the *Journal*, and a more extended and elaborate one in Mr. Lee's publication), and regretted to find almost all traces of its former character extinguished. The site of the villa was being trenched for the purpose of laying down draining pipes. Close by the side of it, but without what were the ancient city walls, was a very remarkable Norman mound, to the summit of which the party ascended, and whence they had an excellent view of the burial places of the Romans, situated about two miles from the town, and on the other side of the river Usk. From these places of interment, Roman columns, sculptures, and sepulchral monuments, have been frequently dug up. What was the burying place is now a bleak and barren moor on the side of the hill, only covered with furze and brushwood. The mound itself upon which the party stood offered a great puzzle to the archæologists, and there were great differences of opinion as to its original design, whether for defence or look-out, and the point was by no means settled. Some large slabs of concrete at the top excited attention, and gave rise to some discussion. The party, then, under the guidance of Mr. Lee, inspected the city walls, and visited the remains of a Roman amphitheatre. It was of considerable depth, and covered with smooth turf. A hurried visit was then paid to Caerleon church, which has a north and south aisle to the nave only, and the tower of which stands at the west end of the south aisle; after which the party visited Mr. Lee's house, and were hospitably and elegantly entertained. Here they inspected the house, which was of an extremely antiquated character, and contained, among other objects of interest, a collection of several thousand fossils.

On their return to Newport, the Association visited the very remarkable church of St. Woollos, referred to by Mr. Freeman in the morning; and were accompanied by the vicar, the rev. Edward Hawkins, between whom and the society an interesting conversation took place respecting the building. It appeared to have been constructed at different times, and continually enlarged each time, apparently in a different style of architecture. A remarkably beautiful doorway attracted general admiration. The church is being thoroughly restored, and by the courtesy of the vicar, the society were allowed to inspect the plans, by which it appeared that any fear which Mr. Freeman entertained about the destruction of the coved roof was groundless. This interesting church will form an object of particular inquiry, and will be brought before the Association on a future occasion.

It had been originally proposed to have visited Malpas, and also to have inspected Cardiff castle, to which an obliging invitation had,

through the rev. J. M. Traherne, been transmitted to the Association from the noble proprietor, but time would not permit of the examination, and the party returned to Chepstow by the eight o'clock train. Having partaken of some refreshment, the evening was passed in the reading of a very curious paper, by Mr. J. O. Halliwell, on the Wanderings of Taylor the water poet, and some extracts from his very curious account of his travels were read, which led to a very generally expressed desire to have the whole of this exceedingly scarce little tract reprinted in the *Journal*, and it will probably appear in the next or a subsequent number of the *Journal*.

An interesting paper was also read, from the pen of Dr. Wm. Beattie, on Raglan castle, which will be printed in the next number of the *Journal*, accompanied with illustrations.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 25.

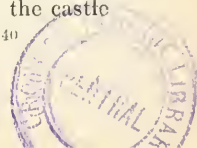
The Association assembled at an early hour to proceed to Raglan castle, and after examining minutely every portion of the remains, under the direction of the keeper of the castle and Mr. Wakeman, the latter gentleman obligingly delivered a few observations, of which the following is an abstract:—

“Tourists and the authors of guide books have amused their readers with sundry whimsical etymologies of the name, which is simply compounded of *rhag* the front, and *glan* the bank of a river or brook, etc. *Rhag-lan* the front of the bank; the name of a well-known locality near London, called Bankside, conveys the same idea. The history of this place, and the way it became the property of the Herberts, as given in the published accounts of it, is altogether erroneous, and at variance with all existing records and deeds. The statement that Thomas ap Gwilym, the grandfather of William earl of Pembroke, married the daughter and heiress of a sir John Morley of Raglan castle, and thus acquired the estate, originated with some of the Welsh heralds, and was adopted from them by Dugdale; sanctioned by such authority, it has been copied by every succeeding writer. I will not dispute the existence of such a person as sir John Morley nor the marriage of his daughter, but he certainly was not the owner of Raglan, nor as far as I have been able to discover of a single acre of land in the county.

“The earliest account we have of this place after the Norman conquest is that it was given by Richard Strongbow, in the reign of Henry II, to sir Walter Bloet, one of his retainers, to be holden of him as of his castle of Usk by knight's service. This sir Walter Bloet, or Bluet, was one of the younger sons of Bloet of Lacham in Wilts and Silchester; his elder brother, Ralph Bloet, held the manor of Langstone in this county. Raglan continued in the possession of the descendants of sir Walter till

some time in the reign of Edward III, when Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of John Bloet, carried it to her husband Bartholomew Pycot; both were living in 1369. Their only son and heir John Pycot died without issue; upon which his cousin Elizabeth, only daughter of sir John Bluet of Daglingworth in Gloucestershire, succeeded as heir-at-law. This lady was the wife of sir James Berkeley of Berkeley, to whom Henry IV confirmed the manor of Raglan by patent. They gave Raglan to their second son Morris Berkeley for his maintenance, but he dying without issue, it reverted to his father, who died in 1405, and was succeeded by his son James lord Berkeley. Lady Elizabeth married a second husband, sir William ap Thomas, to whom lord Berkeley conveyed Raglan in fee. The conveyance is still extant, in the possession of the duke of Beaufort. Sir William had no issue by this lady, who died in 1421. He afterwards married Gwladis, daughter of the noted sir David Gam, widow of sir Roger Vaughan, who with her father fell at Agincourt; by this lady he had issue sir William Herbert, who was created earl of Pembroke in 1468, and was killed at Banbury the following year; from which time the estate has descended precisely in the same way as Chepstow to the present noble owner. The Bluets had a mansion here, and as at that period all the residences of the great landowners were fortified, it was called a castle; there is every reason to suppose that it stood on the same site as the present one. What sort of building it was, or whether any part of it remains, is uncertain. I should be inclined to suppose the whole had been removed to make room for the noble structure of which we now see the ruins. Leland says, '*Morgan (of Tredegar) tolde me that one of the laste lorde Herbertes buildid al the beste logges of the castel of Ragelande.*' This leaves us in doubt as to the individual meant, but probably it was the first earl, who succeeded to the estate in 1446, and was beheaded by the Lancastrians in 1469, leaving his son a boy only fourteen years old. This earl, then, had possession twenty-three years; the son died on the 6th July 1491, having been in possession after he became of age about fifteen years. Very possibly the building was commenced by the father, and finished by the son; be this as it may, we have the limits between 1446 and 1491 during which the whole was erected; for I see no reason to suppose as some do that the keep tower is older than the other parts of the castle; the masonry appears to me to correspond with the rest of the building. It is a mistake to suppose that this tower, the strongest part of the building, was reduced to the state we see it at the siege; it was mined and blown up afterwards, and some other parts of the building partially destroyed, to prevent its being again made a garrison in opposition to the parliament."

A discussion then took place, in reference principally to some architectural points, between Mr. Whichcord, Mr. White, Mr. Davis, rev. Mr. Hugo, and others, and a plan procured from the custodian of the castle



being exhibited, the subject was referred for consideration at a future time.

After partaking of refreshments at Raglan the Association proceeded to Usk, and in the first place made an examination of the church. Here they were met and courteously received by the rev. Wm. Evans, the vicar, who detailed many particulars relating to its condition. From the destruction of the choir and transepts, the tower of the church now stands at the east end, and there is only a north aisle to the nave. A curiously carved oak screen attracted attention, and also a brass, the inscription on which has excited much discussion among antiquaries. In the *Archæologia Cambrensis* (vol. ii, p. 35), may be seen a reduced *fac-simile* from a rubbing of the brass, engraved by Mr. G. A. Hanlon of Rathgar, accompanying some observations by our associate Mr. Wakeman. By reference to this article it will be seen that Mr. Wakeman has most carefully examined the rev. Mr. Coxe's plate, and compared it with his own rubbings and those of Mr. Rees, and has found it to be very incorrect. The accurate examination made by Mr. Wakeman appears to have set the question at rest for the future. The particulars relating to this subject will be seen in Mr. Wakeman's observations, pp. 263-265, *ante*.

The company then proceeded to inspect the gateway of the ancient priory, and from thence went to the castle, which, with the exception of the outer walls and keep, is now a complete ruin. An excellent description of its condition will be found in the second volume of Dr. Beattie's *Castles and Abbeys*, and to this work and the observations of Mr. Wakeman the reader is referred for all that is interesting on the subject.

On the road home the Association stopped to examine the remains of a cromlech situated on the Usk and Chepstow road. This has been frequently figured, but a most excellent drawing was taken for the Treasurer by Mr. Thomas Pease. The cromlech consists of eight upright slabs of stone belonging to the district, and one enormous slab which formed the capping stone, weighing many tons, is now lying in an oblique position, having apparently by its fall displaced the others. It measured twelve feet and a half in length, and four feet in breadth. It will be specially noticed on another occasion. The Association arrived at too late an hour at Chepstow to enter upon any further business, and the meeting was adjourned to the next day.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 26.

This being the last day of the Congress, and many of the members desirous of returning to London by the midday train, it was agreed to hold the closing meeting before entering upon the excursion to Caerwent, the Venta Silurum of the Romans. The proposed visits to Llanvair castle, Penhow castle and church, Pencoed castle and Lydney station and park, were necessarily abandoned, time not permitting of any examination however slight of those interesting places.

The chair having been taken by sir Fortunatus Dwaris, V.P., the Treasurer submitted several papers which remained unread, and they were referred to the Council to be brought before other meetings of the Association, or to be printed in the *Journal*.

Mr. Pettigrew read a letter he had received from Mrs. Bernal, announcing as the cause of the President's absence the severe illness with which Mr. Bernal had been attacked, and which to the great grief of the Association terminated fatally on the day upon which this annunciation was made. The Council of the Society have added to the vote of regret and sympathy which was passed on this occasion, a vote and letter of condolence to Mrs. Bernal upon the bereavement she has experienced, and the great loss the Society has sustained, and directed a special notice of Mr. Bernal's services to be recorded in the annual obituary of the Association.

Votes of thanks were then passed—

To the right rev. the lord bishop of Llandaff, the patron of the congress.

To his grace the duke of Beaufort, for his handsome present of venison.

To sir Fortunatus Dwaris, V.P., for his kind attention to the Association, and valuable services in the absence of the president.

To the very rev. the dean of Llandaff, and the other vice-presidents of the meeting.

To the treasurer, the secretaries, and the registrar.

To Dr. Morris, the honorary secretary of the local committee, for his undeviating attention to the business of the Congress.

To the gentlemen composing the local committee, especially to the rev. J. B. Gabriel, vicar of Chepstow, who was requested to convey to the family of Robert Evans, esq., of Larkfield, the chairman of the local committee, their expressions of regret at the awfully sudden decease of that gentleman on the second day of the Congress.

To Thos. Wakeman, esq., and others, the authors of papers contributed to the Congress.

To the dean of Llandaff; Charles Lewis, esq., of St. Pierre; J. E. Lee, esq., of Caerleon; and Mr. Thos. Thompson, of Piercefield, for their elegant hospitality.

To the rectors and vicars of the churches visited during the Congress, for their uniform attention, and permission to examine the several edifices.

To the proprietors of the places visited during the Congress.

To the committee of the Reading Room at Chepstow for their obliging attention to, and admission of, the members and visitors during the Congress; and

To the members of the press who had accompanied the Association in their examinations, and for their faithful reports of the proceedings.

The place of meeting for the next Congress was then discussed, and

several localities were referred to; but the matter was left for the decision of the council.

Sir Fortunatus Dwaris then closed the proceedings by returning thanks to the ladies who had honoured the Association by their attendance.

A small party proceeded to Caerwent, and on the road stopped to view a house at Crick, upon which we have the following note from the pen of Mr. WAKEMAN :—

“Crick house.—Four miles from Chepstow, on the road to Caerwent, was the seat of the family of De la More, which we find here as early as 1137. Latterly they had curtailed their name, and called themselves Moore. The representative of the family at the commencement of the civil war was Nicholas Moore. There is nothing curious about the house itself; but a certain degree of interest is attached to it on account of king Charles I having twice visited Mr. Moore, and on the second time very narrowly escaped being taken prisoner by the parliamentarians. The particular object of his first visit does not appear. He left Raglan on the morning of the 22nd July 1645, dined here, and returned late at night. On the 24th he again came here, with the avowed intention of crossing the Severn at the Black Rock passage, and going to Bristol. This had, by some means, become known to the enemy, and a party of dragoons was sent in pursuit. How the king became aware of his danger has not been told; but on arriving at Crick a consultation was held, and a *ruse* was adopted. Four of his attendants were sent on with all speed to the passage; but the king and the rest of his party turned off to Newport, where he arrived safe. The party which went to the passage had scarcely time to cross when the troops in pursuit arrived, and, in great rage, threatened to cut down the boatmen unless they were instantly carried over, which the others objected to, and pointed out the danger, as the tide had begun to flow, and it would be necessary to land upon the rocks at some distance from the shore. The soldiers, however, insisted, and they were landed on a ridge of rocks called the English Stones, between which and the dry land there is a flat, in crossing which they were carried away by the tide, and every one drowned. In consequence of this the ferry was discontinued by order of the parliament. On a trial which took place at Monmouth, between the duke of Beaufort and Mr. Lewis of St. Pierre, at the beginning of the last century, respecting the right of ferry, these particulars were deposed to by an old man who had been an eye-witness of the transaction. The only mistake he made was, in supposing the king himself was one of the four gentlemen who had crossed the river; but we know from the *Iter Carolinum* that he was not. I find the king's escape at the Black Rock alluded to in the newspapers of the time; but I have sought in vain for any details of the event.”

On arriving at Caerwent, the party were met by the rev. Macdonald Steel, the vicar, and conducted to the church, which now exhibits a sad

loss of its original composition, two aisles and the nave, one to the south being no longer to be seen. There is, however, a remarkably fine old font, and a curiously carved pulpit, which has been there for two hundred and twenty years, and was presented to the church by the Llangibby family, whose armorial bearings are carved upon it. The carving also presents a representation of Llandaff cathedral as it existed at that time.

Having viewed the church, the Association proceeded to inspect the remains of a tessellated pavement, to which Mr. Pettigrew had alluded in his opening address, but which was now much dilapidated, yet still presenting an elegant scroll pattern. The city walls were then traced out in some portions of their direction, and found to be remarkable both for their thickness and their height. Passing to an orchard, the property of the rev. Freke Lewis, so many evidences of Roman antiquity presented themselves that a wish was instantly expressed to make excavations at this spot, as likely to be productive of much important information. It was therefore resolved to make application to the proprietor for permission to examine the ground; and he has most generously assented to this on the part of the Association.

The council are now engaged in making arrangements to carry out the examination of Caerwent in the most perfect manner possible, and have invited the cooperation of all the local antiquaries who feel an interest in the matter. The result of these researches, it is presumed, will be too extensive for insertion and illustration in the *Journal*, and will probably form a distinct volume for presentation to those who subscribe towards the expenses necessarily attendant upon such an undertaking. The members of the Association are therefore respectfully requested to forward their subscriptions to the treasurer, who is now collecting a fund for this special purpose, the names of the contributors to which will be duly announced.

Connected with the business of the Congress, the following extract from the *Gloucester Journal* may not be undeserving of notice, and found worthy of record in the *Journal*:

“The Sewerage Works and their Revelations.—Now that the public works for the sewerage of this city are nearly completed, an enumeration of the principal observations made during their progress, and the antiquities discovered, may prove interesting. The greatest curiosity hitherto brought to light is the beautiful tessellated pavement found in Long Smith-street, which was carefully uncovered a few days ago, and the dirt washed from its surface, under the personal superintendence of Mr. Disney, clerk of the works. Mr. Disney communicated the circumstance of the pavement being open for inspection, to T. J. Pettigrew, esq., treasurer of the British Archæological Association; and the consequence was, that several *sarans* of that society, on their return from their peregrinations in the neighbourhood of Chepstow, remained in Gloucester some time to exa-

mine the pavement and other fragments of the artistic productions of eighteen centuries ago. The tesserae are of four colours, black, white, red, and orange, and are beautifully arranged, the border of the floor being of zig-zag pattern, and a centre of foliage, the leaves being heart-shaped. The excavations in the principal streets have been carried, on an average, to a depth of ten feet; and it is suggested as one reason why more curiosities have not been discovered, that at about a parallel with the present surface (at a depth of ten feet) are the Roman roadways, formed of concrete: in many places, where the substratum was soft or boggy, this concrete was laid upon bushes or faggots,—a system adopted at the present time by our leading engineers. In Northgate-street, at the south end of Worcester-street, at a depth of ten feet, was the old road, which, on being broken through, revealed the neck and handles of an amphora, or Roman wine-jar, marked with the maker's name in large characters. Here a curious fact revealed itself, inasmuch as at this spot the ground was boggy, and lower than the present course of the Northgate brooks, both upper and lower, evidently showing that the river Twyver formerly flowed in that direction, and that it was diverted for defensive purposes—the beds of the present streams being in strong clay, under which is the top stratum of the coal formation. Above the Roman roadways, to a depth of six feet, is a collection of decayed straw, rushes, and other refuse, intermixed with bones, having the appearance, when cut through, of a rich manure heap. No doubt this accumulated after the Romans left the country, and during the ensuing troublesome times, until municipal government was granted by charter to the city by Charles II. A quantity of bones of fowls, found opposite the New Inn, is significant of the good living indulged in by the 'pilgrim fathers', who were entertained at that ancient hostelry. The curiously shaped leather soles of shoes found (probably remains of sandals), and the absence of *débris* of tobacco-pipes, prove that the accumulation took place previous to the reign of Elizabeth. The position of Roman buildings has been defined in several places, the largest in St. John's-lane, where the base of a column of the Attic order was found at a depth of twelve feet; and also the foundations of a building, which, by its thickness (three feet), might be supposed to have been extensive. At the upper end of the lane was found, at a depth of eleven feet, a pavement, the tesserae of which were about one inch square. The base of an Attic column was also found at the top of Queen-street, at its junction with Eastgate-street. Long Smith-street has been the richest field for antiquarian discoveries hitherto: this, from its elevated position (being the highest spot in the city), would naturally be chosen as the site for a villa; and here two pavements have been found, the one before alluded to, and another of a larger and coarser kind, similar to that found in St. John's-lane. The *débris* of decorated plastering were also found, and some Roman tiles, showing this to have

been the residence of an important personage. In excavating on the north side of the cathedral, a large quantity of *ficilia* of Samian pottery was discovered, and has been partially restored. If the site was excavated to a depth of about six feet, great quantities, no doubt, would be found; and by removing the soil at this spot, the appearance of the cathedral would be improved. This pottery was imported into this country by the Romans, from Samos, being finer than our clays, and valued highly by them, as in some instances it has been found riveted, similar to the present method of preserving old china. Numerous specimens of common pottery have been found, in the shape of necks and handles of wine-jars of large size. The New Market excavations yielded a small Roman altar of very fine workmanship. No doubt, when the private drainage is being carried out, many interesting relics will be found, which will compensate for the apparent scarcity of curiosities hitherto discovered. The position of the city fortifications has been clearly defined; the foundations of the old city gates presenting barriers which succumbed to the march of sanitary measures, although they presented an effectual obstruction to the royalist army when besieging Gloucester. From the old ditch were brought to light several medieval knockers. In Westgate-street, the ruins of St. Mary de Grace and Holy Trinity churches were met with. These churches were pulled down about 1665. The upper part of the baptismal font of Trinity church, having a neat Norman enrichment round the upper edge, was found. Under the Fleece Inn, the crypt of Trinity church still exists in good preservation, but is now used as a cellar."

Some notices relating to these discoveries, and representations of some of the objects obtained, may be found in the communications of Mr. Clarke, architect, in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for July 1853, and May and Sept. 1854.

ERRATA.

P. 286, line 26, for "Le" read "Ke".

P. 287, line 40, for "rencine" read "rencinis".

P. 289, line 4, for "1605" read "1065".





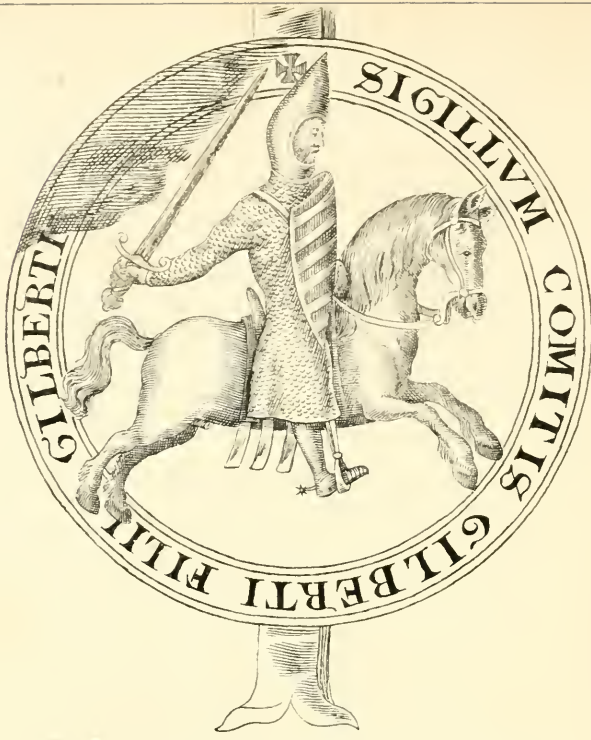


Fig 1 Seal of Gilbert de Clare Earl of Pembroke



Fig 2 Seal of Richard Fitz Gilbert Earl of Pembroke.

THE JOURNAL

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British Archaeological Association.

JANUARY 1855.

ON RAGLAN CASTLE.

BY W. BEATTIE, M.D., HON. FOR. SEC.

[*Read at the Chepstow Congress.*]

By a quaint old poet, who had seen it in the height of its baronial splendour, the stronghold of the Somersets is thus described :

“ A famous castle fine,
That Raglan hight, stands moated almost round,
Made of freestone, upright and straight as line,
Whose workmanship in beauty doth abound,
With curious ‘knots’ wrought all with edged tool;
The stately *tower that overlooks the pool*,¹
The *fountain trim*,² that runs both day and night,
Doth yield, in show, a rare and noble sight.”

And “a rare and noble sight” it must have been. The land was then in peace, and the “lords of Raglan”, expert alike in the arts of peace and war, were always ready, as now, to repel aggression from abroad, to stifle dissensions at home, and, in seasons of leisure and reflection, to foster that love of the arts, which grew up under their protection. By exciting emulation in others, they accelerated the march of civilization, and produced that majestic pile, which, attesting the power of great minds united in one great object, has left, in the ruins we now survey, a national landmark to which the most competent judges of our own times may turn, as to a temple of the arts thrown open for our pleasure and instruction.

¹ Moat.

² Fountain court.

The brief but comprehensive sketch of the poet is fully substantiated by others who, confining their admiration to the limits of simple prose, describe this castle as a "master-piece of design and execution". But this was long before the guns of Fairfax had made a breach in the "yellow tower". Down to that eventful and disastrous period, Raglan was the cherished abode of its princely owner,—a *repertorium* of the fine arts; the seat of unbounded hospitality, from which every guest, high or humble, might return home wiser and better than he came. In this classic retirement he beheld the impersonation of science and art: beauties upon which he had only gazed under the sky of Italy, or dreamt of in the seclusion of his own study, were *here* embodied in visible, tangible forms, the memory of which haunted him in after life, and stimulated him to imitate, and recommend to others, what he so justly admired within the circle of these very walls where we now stand.

Today, Raglan opens to us a wide field for meditation; every object is suggestive, every fragment of these towers and battlements forms an interesting sentence in the chronicle of a place, which of itself holds a distinguished position in the national annals. To whatever admiration it once laid claim, a sentiment of deeper interest has succeeded: to beauty, whether of nature or art, we are ready to offer the tribute of admiration,—a tribute which it commands; but the contemplation of *beauty in decay* awakens a deeper sentiment,—a melancholy yet pleasing interest, which we would not exchange even for the brightness of its noonday splendour. We are willing to believe that, at no period of its history, when inhabited by worth and valour, enriched with the precious works of art, and forming one of the gems of baronial architecture,—at no period has Raglan castle presented so many attractions as at this moment.

And why do castles please us most when they are dismantled? Palaces when they are in ruins? Why is an old battlefield rather improved than defaced by a crop of standing corn? Because we can imagine nobler things than we see; because the heroic deed, not vile flesh and blood, is the impersonation of the hero. We would doubt whether, on the plain of Marathon, we could be reconciled

even to the ghost of Miltiades ! Greatness shines more brightly when it is abstracted from the man ; so, in gazing upon these magnificent ruins, every feature is magnified by the *deeds* that have rendered it famous to all posterity. The mind is absorbed by the stirring events, the good and great men with whose lives and actions it is associated ; the past predominates over the present ; and, as we look upon the crumbling ramparts and the deserted halls, the ancient lords of the castle rise up before us, and bid us listen to their story :

“ Our freedom’s cradle was the Keep ;
 Her champions were the barons bold,
 Who placed her temple on the steep,
 And crown’d her with a crown of gold,
 And cried, ‘ Henceforth our land shall be
 The glorious land of liberty ! ’ ”

RAGLAN CASTLE is described by Grose as a place of no great antiquity, dating only from the close of the fifteenth century, but subsequently strengthened and embellished by many important additions. Leland mentions that, in his day, it was a fair and pleasant castle, with two goodly parks, and that “ all the best *coffes* were builded by the last lord Herbertes.” Camden describes it, very briefly, as a fair house of the earl of Worcester’s, “ built castle-wise”. But as the question of its antiquity is reserved for discussion in another place, we shall merely observe in passing, that the keep itself, the “ yellow tower of Gwent”, presents infallible proofs of a remote antiquity. In the time of Richard II, Raglan castle is described as the residence of sir John Morley, a military knight ; and there is strong reason to believe that the Clares, lords of Chepstow and founders of Tintern abbey, had a castle at Raglan as early as the thirteenth century. From Richard Strongbow, Raglan descended to Walter Bloet, in consideration of soldiers, money, and arms, furnished to the said Strongbow for his expedition into Ireland.¹ By marriage with the heiress of Bloet, Raglan passed into the family of Berkeley, and thence, in the reign of Henry V, to sir William ap Thomas, whose eldest son being created “ lord of Raglan, Chepstow, and Gower”, was commanded to assume

¹ Subject of the great painting, by MACLISE, just exhibited.

the name of Herbert, in honour of Herbert Fitz-Henry, chamberlain to king Henry I. To this nobleman was entrusted the care of Richmond, afterwards Henry VII, whose prison-chamber is shown over the gateway of the castle. This sir Herbert was afterwards created earl of Pembroke, in acknowledgment of his services to the house of York. His career was brief and disastrous, for having, at the head of a corps of Welshmen, marched against the Lancastrians under Warwick, he was taken prisoner at Danesmoor, and beheaded at Banbury. [July 27, 1469.]

William, eldest son of this unfortunate nobleman, succeeded him as earl of Pembroke, till the king, desirous that prince Edward, his son, should hold this dignity, William resigned it to the king's pleasure, and in lieu thereof was created earl of Huntingdon, on the 4th of July 1479, ten years after his father's death. By his second marriage with Mary, sister of Woodville earl Rivers, he had an only daughter, at whose marriage with sir Charles Somerset the castle of Raglan and its dependencies passed into the family of Worcester.

To trace the history of this house down to recent times would far exceed the limits assigned to this paper; but of the first marquis of the family, with whose loyalty and misfortunes the castle before us is so intimately associated, I must beg your indulgence for a few words. His father, Edward, the third earl, was one of the most distinguished nobles at the court of Elizabeth; he held several of the highest posts of honour in the queen's gift. "In his youth," says sir Robert Naunton, "this earl was a very fine gentleman, and the best horseman and tilter of his times, which arts were then the warlike and noble recreations of the court, and which took up the applause of the men, as well as the praise and commendation of the ladies. And when years had abated these exercises of honour, he grew to be a faithful and profound counsellor. He was the last liver of all the servants of her favour, and had the honour to see his renowned mistress, and all of them, laid in the places of their rest; and, for himself, after a life of very noble and remarkable reputation, he died rich, in a peaceful old age,—a fate that befel not many of the rest; for they expired *like lights blown out*, not commendably extinguished, *but with the snuff very offensive to the standers by.*"





The Spinnery - Dover

“He was a great favourer of learning and good literature”,¹ and left his castle of Raglan in a state of splendid embellishment.

From a “list of the household, and manner of living, at Raglan”, in the time of the third earl (father of the marquis), it may be inferred that the establishment was on a footing second only to that of the queen herself. It was certainly on a scale superior to the minor courts of Germany in our own day; and, when filled with courtiers and armed retainers, the castle of Raglan was well fitted for a royal palace and the reception of princes.

His son and successor, Henry Somerset, fourth earl of Worcester, married Anne, daughter of John lord Russell, heir apparent to the earl of Bedford; and for his loyalty in 1642, was created marquis of Worcester. As the national troubles increased, the marquis fortified his castle of Raglan, and there he entertained his sovereign with unbounded magnificence: such, indeed, were his voluntary sacrifices to the royal cause, that the daily expenditure would have soon ruined any other nobleman of his day. The king himself, fearing that the garrison stores might be suddenly exhausted by his numerous suite, offered to invest the marquis with authority to exact supplies in the country round; but Worcester magnanimously replied, “I humbly thank your majesty, but my castle would not long stand if it leant upon the country. I had rather myself be brought to a morsel of bread, than see one loaf wrung from the poor to entertain your majesty.”

We will now take a brief survey of the castle, beginning at the grand entrance, through which we have just passed. (See pl. 28).² Here, three pentagonal towers, crested with battlements, and having on their chequered outline marked indications of the besiegers’ cannon, present a magnificent picture. These, less defaced than other portions of the castle, are invested with a luxuriant mantle of ivy, as if nature herself kindly interposed to shield the venerable edifice from further violence and decay. In the gateway are grooves for two portcullises. The two pentagonal towers, right and left, were appropriated as quarters for the inferior officers

¹ Sandford.

² For the kind use of this and the two succeeding engravings the Council are indebted to the kindness of the learned author of this paper, and his publishers, Messrs. Virtue and Co. [*Ed.*]

of the castle; and immediately behind were barrack rooms for the garrison. Adjoining these, was a third or closet tower; and on the left were the officers' apartments, demolished in the siege. Between the first two towers, the grand portal, a work of great strength and fine gothic proportions, opens into the second court. Halting beneath the archway, we cannot but admire the design and execution, in which grace, strength, and beauty are eminently combined; while the deep grooves, worn smooth by the working of a double portcullis, show how readily this hospitable gateway could be transformed, on occasion, into an impassable barrier.

The paved or pitched Court (see plate 29), the area of which was the muster ground within the walls, is now as verdant as a bowling green. The buildings on the north side were destroyed during the siege; and through the east wall a breach was effected that hastened the capitulation. These towering battlements, as we observe, are festooned with ivy; every crevice sends forth its trees, shrubs, and parasites, that luxuriate in the old mortar. Under the same canopy of leaves, birds of song and birds of ill omen breed and congregate in good fellowship. At the extremity of the court, westward, we obtain an imposing view of the architecture of the south side, which, with all its scars and dilapidations, is eminently picturesque. It is hung with the richest tapestry that nature can weave—an embroidered vestment of evergreen—through which appears in grand proportions the window of the great hall. The point from which this view may be enjoyed to greatest advantage is marked by a seat under an ash-tree, well known to every visitor, and long remembered as a green spot in his memory of Raglan.

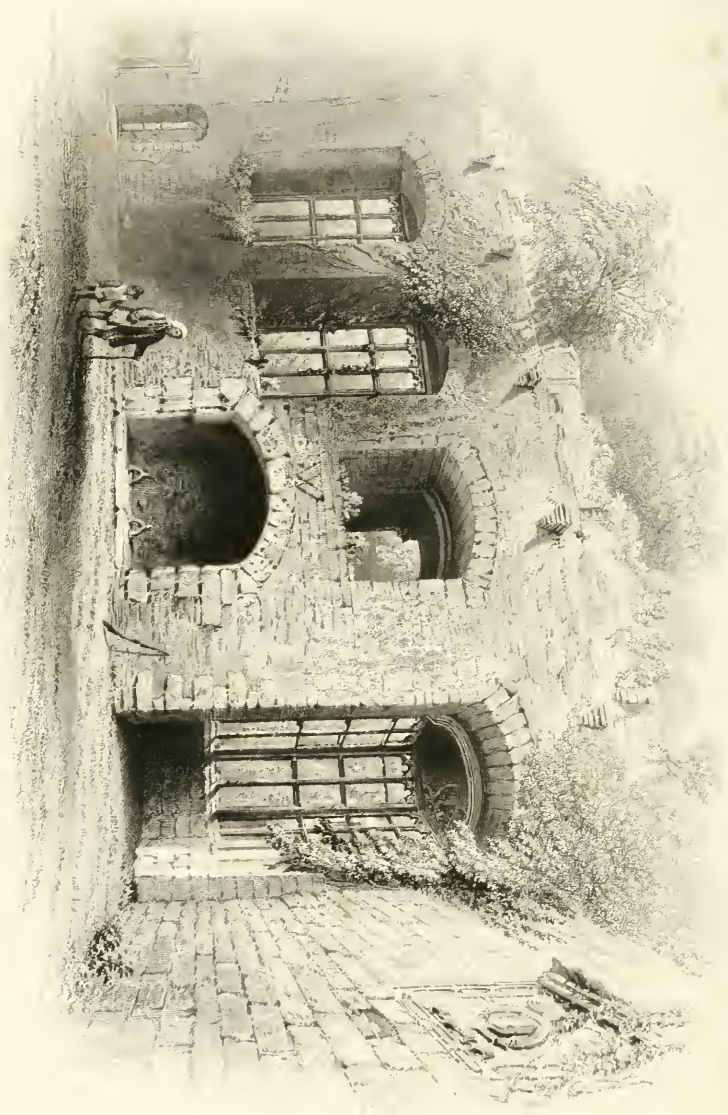
The great kitchen, a most important adjunct to the barons' hall, occupies the whole area of another strong pentagonal tower. From the kitchen a passage leads across the pitched court to the buttery, and thence again to the common dining hall or parlour. This apartment (49 feet by 21) communicates by three contiguous openings or doors with the great hall, which lies between the pitched court and the chapel, and occupies nearly the whole space between the dining hall and the officers' tower at the entrance.



The Road, Woodford







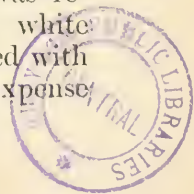
The baronial hall (66 feet by 28, see plate 30) occupies the space between the two inner courts, running parallel with the chapel. In this apartment the most imposing feature is the great bay window, which, were nothing else left entire, would suffice to give us a very distinct picture of that feudal magnificence to which such splendid monuments were raised and consecrated.

The arms of the Worcester family, carved in stone, but much defaced by time or accident, adorn the eastern wall. Over the capacious fireplace (well adapted to an age when, instead of pit coal, the boles of oak and pine blazed on the hearth) the cypher W. is worked in brick.

The geometrical roof which once covered this noble hall was of admirable design and workmanship. The material was of Irish oak, nicely adjusted, elaborately carved, and so ingeniously framed and fastened together, that the whole fabric appeared as if it had been shaped and chiselled out of a solid block; yet so lofty, so light and airy withal, that it seemed as if it were rather suspended from the sky above, than supported by the massive walls which it covered and adorned. In the centre was a gothic *louvre* of stained glass, through which the descending light streamed upon the assembled guests, their arms, dresses, and accoutrements, in all the colours of the rainbow.

The chapel, parallel with the great hall, forms the north side of the fountain court. Few traces are left of its original style and dimensions; but from what remains, a safe conclusion may be drawn that it was in character with other sacred edifices of its class and period. On the north side, two rudely carved stone effigies, shaded with ivy, project from the wall; but at such a height, that no correct estimate can be made of the sculpture. Their appearance is by no means prepossessing. From these and other architectural fragments, it may be inferred that the chapel is probably of a date contemporary with that of the donjon, a work of the eleventh century.—This is a question, however, which, with many others, I humbly submit to the decision of my learned brethren of the Association.

The fountain Court, upon which we now enter, was remarkable in its day for an equestrian statue of white marble, mounted on a lofty pedestal, and embellished with a fountain, the water of which, brought at great expense



from the neighbouring heights, was conveyed to the fish-ponds, the never failing appendage of a great mansion. But the pipes that conveyed the water were long since ploughed up in the fields adjoining the castle; the pedestal, the marble basin, the statue, with every fragment of the original structure, have disappeared, and left no memorial but in the history and traditions of the place.

The south-west tower contains the now desolate chambers once occupied by Charles the First, after his retreat from Naseby. They are in a state of complete dilapidation, and cannot be approached without some degree of risk. In the outer wall of the king's chamber you will observe a tunnel, like a chimney, communicating with the outer rampart. By means of this, in cases of surprise or danger, the royal fugitive could be easily "lowered in a basket," and thus make his escape beyond the walls. Had a similar contrivance favoured him at Carisbrook, the king might soon have been at large. But there he was indeed a prisoner; while at Raglan he had the lives and services of a whole garrison at his command, with the old marquis himself, the most devoted friend that king ever possessed, ready to forward every plan, and encounter every danger, for the personal safety of his liege lord.

In these apartments an elegant stone window is pointed out, which claims special attention. To the recess in this window the king often resorted, in his deep adversity, as if, by contemplation of the rich and variegated landscape which it commands, to divert and lighten the melancholy thoughts that preyed upon his heart. These natural beauties of hill and dale, wood and water, trees, hamlets, cottages and farms, are all as fresh as when the king took his last look of them; while the splendid edifice, which received him with royal honours, is now reduced to a lonely ruin, and given up, in the expressive language of scripture, as a habitation for the owls and the bats.

Passing from the cellars, vast and capacious as befitted a princely establishment, we arrive at the *tower of Gwent*, the citadel or donjon of the fortress, and built as if to defy the united force of violence and decay. It had six sides, each thirty-two feet wide, ten thick, with a height of five stories, all built of squared stone, so symmetrical and compactly set, that the walls appear like the face of a smooth

solid rock. The mortar is even harder than the stones imbedded in it. During the siege the battlements were speedily demolished, being of light construction; but on the body of the tower the guns of Fairfax took no more effect than if they had opened upon solid granite. This tower communicated with the other buildings by means of an elegant bridge, with six arched and embattled turrets; adjoining which was a deep moat, thirty feet broad, supplied by a clear running stream, from which a hydraulic apparatus threw up columns of water as high as the battlements. Along the edge of the moat was a commodious sunken walk, embellished with niches and grôttoes of shell work, statues and busts of the Cæsars, and otherwise adorned with the choicest productions of nature and art. This was the cool and sheltered walk to which the family might resort at all seasons for exercise and meditation. Closely adjoining was the bowling green, twelve feet higher than the walk, with here and there a little garden plot, flowery parterres, and bowers of evergreen. The bowling green, according to tradition, was the favourite walk of king Charles during his visits to Raglan.¹

We have now to take a very brief glance of that turbulent period with which Raglan and its loyal garrison are so painfully yet proudly associated.

"At this time," says Clarendon, "the marquis of Worcester was generally reputed the greatest moneyed man in the kingdom. The lord Herbert, his son, was a man of more than ordinary affection for the king, one he was sure who would not betray him; for though his religion might work upon himself, it would not disquiet other men." The expenses of an army, raised for the king's service, were to be paid by the marquis, on his majesty's promise that he should be reimbursed as soon as the royal authority was restored; but that, in the meantime, he would accept nothing from such revenues as were still left for the king's immediate necessities.

Raglan castle was accordingly garrisoned with eight hundred men, headed by many distinguished officers, and

¹ In a book entitled "Apothegms of Henry marquis of Worcester," collected by his chaplain, Dr. Bayly, the reader will find a rich fund of anecdote. Some particulars extracted from this work may be seen in my history of Raglan castle, in "The Castles and Abbeys of England," second series, p. 164 et seq.

provided with all requisites for a long and vigorous resistance. The marquis of Worcester, then on the verge of fourscore, took the command; and by his presence and conversation inspired all around him with a spirit of invincible courage and loyalty.

In the meantime, a brilliant exploit having been performed by lord Herbert, the marquis's son, in the sudden capture of Monmouth, everything augured well for the royal cause. Raglan itself was well fortified, well provisioned; while an army, raised by the marquis at an expense of £60,000 (an enormous sum at that time), and commanded by lord Herbert, had taken the field. Their prospects, however, were soon darkened. At a place called the Vineyard, near Gloucester, they were met by Waller; whose appearance, at a moment when they had no apprehensions of danger, threw them into a panic, and left him in possession of the field. This was what Clarendon calls the "mushroom army," which grew up and perished in a night! It was a severe blow to the royal cause, and an incalculable loss and discouragement to the marquis of Worcester, whose only hopes were now centered in the defence of Raglan. But passing over a long series of mortification and defeat in the royal cause, we hasten to the last act of the tragedy. . . . Early in the spring of 1646, it was resolved by parliament that the castle of Raglan should be taken and dismantled without loss of time. It was the last fortress that held out for the king; and until it was finally reduced, the spirit of loyalty in Monmouth could never be subdued.

The castle was accordingly invested by Glenham and sir Trevor Williams; the latter, it was said, a royalist at heart.

The first summons was received by the garrison with shouts of indignation and defiance:—

"Our donjon tower is stout and tall,
Each rampart manned and steady,
And loyal hearts from every wall
Shout, 'Roundheads, we are ready!'

Then here's a health to Charles our king!
And eke to noble Worcester!
To each, tomorrow's fight shall bring
New loyalty and lustre.

Then hoist the royal standard high,
And crown our chief with laurels ;
For where's the man that will not die
In combating for Charles !"

Early in June the besiegers were reinforced by a strong body of troops from the city of Worcester, under colonel Morgan, who had instruction to hasten the operations by every means at his disposal. Thus closely invested, the garrison made several desperate sallies, in one of which they killed one of Morgan's officers, and captured a stand of colours. But after the surrender of Oxford to parliament, Morgan received another strong reinforcement, and pushed forward his approaches with redoubled energy. From the 28th of June until the 14th of August the siege was prosecuted without intermission ; many letters passed between the marquis and colonel Morgan, offering and rejecting various terms of capitulation, which had the usual effect, in such cases, of increasing the spirit of exasperation with which the attack and defence were conducted. The arrival of Fairfax was the signal for redoubled exertions ; for the protracted siege had rendered the parliament indignant, and he was ordered to take the castle at all hazards. On the 14th of August he opened a new approach, which for three days was carried forward so rapidly, that on the 17th, to avoid the slaughter that must speedily ensue,—were he to persist in a defence which had become more and more hopeless,—the marquis expressed his desire to treat with Fairfax. To this he received an immediate answer : commissioners were appointed ; a meeting took place on the 15th (Saturday), and all preliminaries being arranged on terms honourable to both parties, the castle and garrison of Raglan were duly surrendered to sir Thomas Fairfax, for the "use of both houses of parliament." The garrison, which at first consisted of eight hundred men, was reduced to less than half that number ; the survivors were on the verge of famine, and in a few days more the enemy must have entered by storm, put the remnant to the sword, and given the castle up to plunder. On Wednesday the 19th of August the garrison marched out. The fall of Raglan castle was a source of much triumph to the parliamentary forces. There

were delivered up with it twenty pieces of heavy ordnance, but only three barrels of gunpowder, another powerful argument in favour of surrender. There were found great store of corn and malt, wine of all sorts, and beer in abundance; but hay and forage for their horses had been so thoroughly exhausted, that these half-starved animals, to use the words of Rushworth, "would have eaten one another, had they not been fastened with chains."

On the same day there marched out of the castle the following:—the marquis, then in his eighty-fourth year; the lord Charles, lieutenant-governor under his father; the countess of Glamorgan; lady and sir Philip Jones; Dr. Bayly, the marquis's family chaplain; commissary Gwillim, four colonels, eighty-two captains, sixteen lieutenants, six cornets, four ensigns, four quartermasters, fifty-two esquires and gentlemen. It is worthy of record, that, of all the forts and garrisons in the king's interest, those of Raglan and Pendennis held out the longest, being gallantly defended by two persons of great age, and were at last delivered up within a day or two of each other.

Much treasure, it was conjectured, had been thrown into the castle moat on the eve of surrender, when the castle, it was thought, was to have been given up to plunder. In this persuasion, people were set to work with shovels and pickaxes, to drain off the water and collect the treasure. But, having discovered nothing valuable in the moat, they were set to cut the tanks of the fishponds, from which, during many generations, the family had drawn an ample supply of carp and other fish for the table. Nothing being found in the ponds to repay them for their labour, they next turned their attention to the roof of the great hall, already noticed; and, as the lead with which it was covered was a convertible material, it was stripped off, rolled up, sent to market, and the product paid over to the parliamentary exchequer.

The loss sustained by the marquis, in the sale and confiscation of his property, was computed at £100,000, not including the vast amount expended in the raising and equipment of two armies, and the maintenance of a numerous garrison during the siege. Everything was sold and dispersed.

The library of Raglan castle was considered one of the

best selected and most extensive in England ; and the gallery, we may infer, both in sculpture and paintings, bore equal testimony to the taste and liberality of the founders.

The venerable marquis did not long survive his family disasters. From the day that Raglan castle was delivered up to general Fairfax, his health rapidly declined ; but, supported by that Christian fortitude which is the only antidote against the outrages of fortune, he preserved the inward peace of a resigned and tranquil spirit. Looking forward with increased confidence to another and a happier state of existence, he regarded passing events, like his own bodily infirmities, as the fatherly chastisements of Him who was thus conducting His servant, by a rugged and stormy path, into a region of unchanging sunshine and peace.

At his death, which took place in December of the same year, all that descended to his family (nine sons and four daughters), were, his example of unshaken loyalty, his well-grounded, practical faith, and his patient endurance of evils, to which the best and the highest are continually exposed in the great battles of life.

The lord Herbert, second marquis of Worcester, is well known as author of the "Century of Inventions", among which was that of the steam-engine. The spot where it is believed to have been first placed by the inventor, was in a building erected close under the walls of the keep, where the drawbridge rose ; and as we cross the rustic bridge that now spans the moat, we may safely point to this interesting fact, and say, "This was the birthplace of the steam-engine !" It is stamped with the broad seal of tradition. Here, during his father's lifetime, the noble inventor made his first experiments in the uses and power of steam ; and here he probably constructed that "model of his invention", which he desired might be placed with him in his coffin. If, in ancient times, warriors considered it an honourable distinction to be consigned to the tomb in a full suit of armour, it was excusable in him, who had carried with him through life the remembrance of many wrongs, to feel a desire that the evidence of one bloodless triumph, one proof of scientific discovery, should accompany him on his final departure from this scene. It was the favourite child of his matured judgment, the reward

of those laborious studies, after which he had been straining for years, and the mighty consequences of which, like "coming events", had "cast their shadows before".

Little was it imagined, while lord Worcester was accused of squandering his time and treasure in useless experiments in the keep before us, that he was preparing the way for that stupendous power which should one day give a new impulse to all the arts of civilized life, cross the Atlantic, traverse the Pacific, bring the distant nations of the earth into one bond of fellowship and good will; and finally, in a just cause, transport our armies to the Bosphorus, with a new lord Raglan at their head,—a name which, at this very moment, is the watchword of victory in the East. These triumphs the inventor was not permitted to realize; but it may well be supposed that the remarkable prediction of the poet, long afterwards announced, was often present to his mind,—

"Soon shall thine arm, triumphant steam, afar
Drag the slow barge, and drive the flying car."

But to return. Of all the artificial embellishments for which Raglan castle was so justly famed, its waterworks formed the grand attraction. They were constructed on a most ingenious and expensive scale by the first marquis and his son, lord Herbert; and in their day, long before the Commonwealth had inspired sentiments of respect or alarm, Raglan castle was more distinguished among the baronial mansions of England, for its waterworks, than even the renowned "Palace of the Peak" in our own day and generation.

In the present day we can form but an imperfect notion of the extent to which the original outworks were carried. For whenever the demesnes of ancient families are let out as farms, the tenant soon brings about a revolution of ancient purposes. He adapts the whole to modern uses,—to whatever will best enable him to pay his rent and feed his cattle.

So has it fared with Raglan: with little interest in its history, little reverence for its ancient lords, every successive tenant, after its fall, studied only how to increase the annual produce for the market. Its gardens were obliterated, its lawns converted into pasture; its fountains,

streams and fishponds dried up, and its materials carted away to erect some farmer's homestead! Its walls, that so long resisted the shot of the besiegers and returned it with interest, seem to feel their degradation, and strive to hide it under a thick mantle of ivy. In the present day, however, the grounds are kept in beautiful order: every fragment, every feature of the venerable ruin is preserved with exemplary care by the resident warden,¹ who, happily for our Congress, possesses a taste for archaeology.

On a deliberate survey of these imposing ruins, we are ready to exclaim, what must have been the labour, the treasure expended, in bringing together such incalculable masses of material, all so various in character, and in some respects foreign to the county in which it was employed. There is no quarry in the neighbourhood that could have furnished the stone—of a light grey colour as we observe—susceptible of a fine polish, and well adapted for the construction of a baronial stronghold. The facing stones are laid with such geometrical nicety, and in many places are still so perfect, that it seems as if the builder had but just left the scaffold, proud of having accomplished a work that was to transmit his name to remote posterity.

But the limits prescribed to this paper forbid our entering upon details: all that we have attempted is to convey a general notion of the castle, leaving the blanks to be filled up by personal inspection, and the kindness of my learned associates.¹

¹ Mr. May.

² The splendid illustrations of Raglan, by Mr. Bartlett,—whose recent death, so justly deplored by all who are gifted with taste, or possess a love for the fine arts,—and published by Messrs. Virtue and Co. of London, convey a most faithful picture of the castle, with all its details, as they now meet the eye. [*Ed.*]

OBSERVATIONS ON THE NIMBUS.¹

BY GILBERT J. FRENCH, ESQ., CORRESP. MEMB. SOC. OF ANTIQ. OF SCOTLAND.

FROM the earliest ages of symbolical art, it has been the custom to embellish the effigies of divine and saintly persons with the distinctive mark of a nimbus² of fire or light, either emanating from or resting upon the head. The pagan gods of antiquity were crowned with this fiery ornament, darting beams of radiant splendour from the brows of the greater divinities, or shedding a milder effulgence from the heads of demi-gods and heroes. The origin of the custom is hidden in the obscurity of antiquity; we therefore can only conjecture the circumstances which may have induced it, and endeavour to state such of them as appear to be probable and reasonable, though in the attempt it is not unlikely that we may disappoint many who can find no charm in symbolism when unaccompanied by mystery.

The sun is of all natural objects that one which by uneducated humanity in every age, and in almost all climes, has been looked upon with the greatest awe and reverence. Before the glorious rays of its light and heat—the apparent material source of life and vegetation—men willingly bent themselves in adoration; and even when reason and education had somewhat influenced them with a knowledge of a spiritual power, by which the sun itself was created and controlled, many nations retained that luminary as the visible sign or emblem of the unseen God, to whom, through it, they continued to offer sacrifice and worship.

¹ The author of this paper a few months since printed off a very limited number of copies for private distribution. It has since undergone careful revision and correction, and many additions have been made both in the body of the paper and to the illustrations. The editor of the *Journal* takes this opportunity of expressing to Mr. French, on the part of the Council of the Association, their best thanks for his great liberality in the presentation of the cuts illustrative of his communication.

² The derivation of this word, usually understood as a *glory* (which, however, is very properly restricted by M. Didron to the *aureole* surrounding the whole figure), is far from being satisfactorily determined. It is conjectured to agree in signification with the Greek *νιφάς*, of which *νιφω* is the original root, a verb signifying to snow, to water, to wet. The Greek noun has been employed to denote a cloud.

Rays of fire or of light thus naturally became emblems of divine power; the statues of pagan deities were clothed or armed with fiery emanations; Jupiter bore the lightning, Apollo was crowned with sunbeams, and Diana wore the crescent moon as a diadem, while numerous persons of both sexes are fabled to have been translated to the sky, there to sparkle for ever as starry constellations. Eastern paganism invests its idols even to the present day with



similar attributes. The heads of gods of Japan and Burmah¹ are surrounded by rays corresponding with those of the classical Apollo, as seen in the accompanying example,² which has a nimbus with seven rays. The subjoined cut, also derived from the same source, will be seen to exhibit the head of a Persian king, sur-

mounted and surrounded by a mass of flame rising up into the air like a pyramid. The figure was taken from a manuscript in the Bibliothèque Royale.

Mr. W. B. Barker, in his *Lares and Penates*, edited by Mr. W. F. Ainsworth, has likewise given a representation of a radiated Apollo, obtained at Cilicia; and Mr. Birch has recognised in it the same figure as that found upon the gold and silver coins of Rhodes. The radiation of the heads of divinities, although found in some instances, is by no means common among either the Greeks or Romans.



The crowns worn by ancient eastern potentates³ were but materialised glories—the divine emanations

copied in burnished gold.



¹ See Picart's *Religious Ceremonies*, vol. iv, pp. 221, 303.

² Didron's *Iconographie Chrétienne*. Paris, 1843, 4to.

³ An heraldic celestial crown of seven points.

The application of the nimbus has not been confined to Divine persons or to the saints. It has already been stated to have accompanied the representation of royalty; it is also attached to many persons mentioned in the Holy Scriptures. In a monastery at Mount Hymettus in Attica, Adam has a nimbus; so also in some of the earliest paintings in the churches of France, the Jewish kings, the prophets, Abel, Melchisedec, Jacob, etc., all are figured with the same attribute. The nimbus of the Virgin Mary is frequently represented with profuse ornamentation, being studded all over with jewels. Allegorical figures also, such as the cardinal virtues, the winds, the elements, day and night, etc., are said to be not unfrequently accompanied by the nimbus in Christian monuments. In a man-



uscript bible of the Byzantine period, either of the ninth or tenth century, preserved in the Imperial Library of Paris, Satan tempting Job is figured with a nimbus;¹ and the beast in the Revelations, the leopard with the feet of the bear, has upon six of the seven heads each a nimbus. These are coloured differently in the manuscript from which plate 31 is taken, four of them being painted blue and two red. The seventh head, without a nimbus, is that which according to the sacred text was wounded to death, which would

appear to be appropriate, since the nimbus is intended to imply power which would be inconsistent with mortality. Mr. T. Wright, in the article on the "Iconographie Chré-

¹ Represented in the *Journal*, vol. i, p. 124. As the volume containing this and other representations is now scarcely attainable and not in the hands of many of the associates, it has been esteemed advisable to repeat some of the illustrations given in the article on the *Iconographie Chrétienne* of M. Didron in the present communication.



PLATE 31. IN THE REVELATIONS, FROM AN EARLY MS.



tienne" of M. Didron, previously referred to, says: "When an individual is in his force, he is honoured with the nimbus; but when he becomes weak, when he is no longer capable of resisting an attack, when disease or death triumphs over him, then he is degraded or deprived of his nimbus. On the early frescoes of the church of St. Savin, near Poitiers, which exhibit some marks of the influence of Byzantine art, the great dragon of the Revelations is represented first at the moment when it attacks the woman who gives birth to a child which is to govern the nations; and then we see the same monster when in turn it is attacked by St. Michael and his angels. In the first picture the dragon has a yellow or golden nimbus, like the angel which snatches the child from its fury. In the second picture, the dragon, on the point of being vanquished by its assailants, is without a nimbus. In the painted glass of the Sainte Chapelle at Paris, the beast with seven heads, when he is worshipped by the infidels and drags with his tail the third part of the stars of heaven, has a nimbus on each head; but when, in another compartment, the angel with the key of the abyss chains and seals him in the gulph for a thousand years, the monster, vanquished and degraded, has lost its nimbus. Other examples of this kind are cited by M. Didron."¹

Didron attributes the origin of the nimbus to the fire worshippers of the East, and to the intention of expressing by fire or flame the emanation of the Divine power and intelligence.

The Jews and Moslems, though they do not *represent* their prophets and lawgivers with the nimbus, always attribute to them this distinguishing ornament; the face of Moses shone after his interview with the Almighty on Mount Sinai; and a mysterious light radiated from the features of Mahomet after the angel Gabriel had cleansed his heart from impurity, by wringing from it the black and bitter drops of original sin inherited from Adam. The Chinese represent not only their deities but also their great lawgiver and philosopher Confucius,² with nimbi similar to those on Christian saints and martyrs.

The assumption of the character of divinity with its

¹ *Journal of the Association*, vol. i, p. 126.

² See Picart, vol. iv, p. 210.



attendant attributes, was not uncommon with the ambitious kings and heroes of antiquity, and may have led to the long series of pagan reputed gods and demi-gods, believed in and worshipped by eminent gentile nations. Such assumption may have been suggested, and very probably aided, by a natural phenomenon, inexplicable to people ignorant of the laws of science, but well calculated to strike them with wonder and awe: sparks of electric fire, it is well known, may be emitted by friction from the hair of many persons under certain circumstances: and it may have been a prosecution of this idea which induced the emperor Commodus to powder his hair with gold dust, that while walking in the sun it might appear to sparkle with supernatural fire: even in comparatively recent times, a religious impostor in Turkey is said to have succeeded in deluding many people into a belief of his sanctity and divine power, by the use of phosphorus on his hair. But whatever its origin, the nimbus or glory on the heads of powerful or pious persons, was a well understood symbol, before the advent of Christ upon earth. The poet Virgil, who lived and died before that time, thus exactly describes the appearance of a prophetic glory which appeared on the head of the young Ascanius before the flight from Troy:—

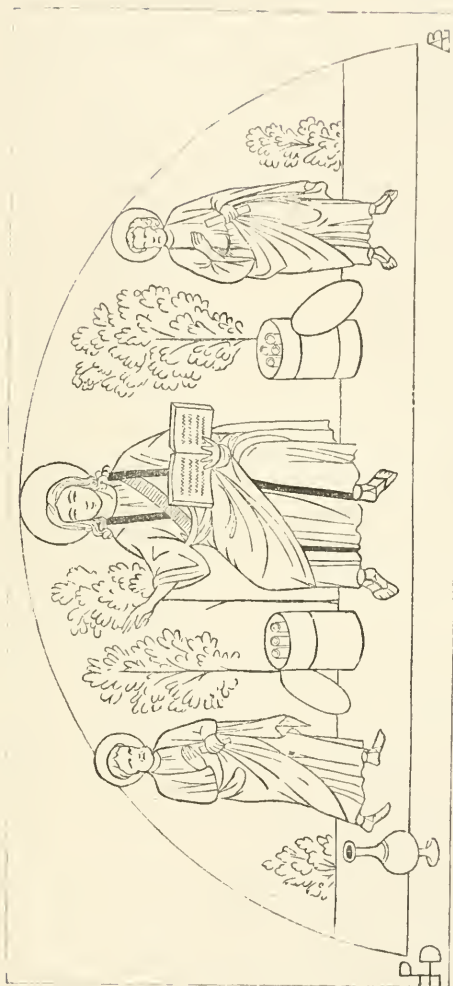
“Ecce levis summo de vertice visus Iūli
Fundere lumen apex, tactuque innoxia molli
Lambere flamma comas, et circum tempora pasci.”

Æneid. lib. II. l. 682 684.¹

The nimbus was adopted as a religious symbol by the early Christians, and examples of it exist in the Roman catacombs, which are attributed to the sixth century. The earliest known Christian nimbus is represented in plate 32, taken from a fresco in the catacombs of Rome. Jesus Christ is there depicted beardless, seated between the two apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, and has only the same simple nimbus formed by a single line, which is like to that encircling the heads of the apostles.

¹ “Sudden a circling flame was seen to spread
With beams refulgent round Iulius’s head;
Then on his locks the lambent glory preys
And harmless fires around his temples blaze.”

Pitt’s Translation.



EARLIEST KNOWN CHRISTIAN NIMBUS, FROM THE ROMAN CATACOMBS.



In ancient illuminations, the wall paintings, and the stained glass of old churches, heads of archangels, angels, evangelists, apostles, saints, and martyrs, are usually encircled by a ring of brilliant colour, assuming the appearance of light, which is presumed to signify that, as accepted servants of the Almighty, they have been honoured with this especial mark of his favour. *Circles* of light are never placed on the heads of persons alive at the time of the representation being made, however holy or powerful they may have been; but there are a few examples remaining of men with the reputation of great sanctity who were pictured when still in this life with a glory of a *square* form. The *square* is an ancient symbol of the earth, and the *circle* of heaven. Didron¹ gives a figure of Gregory IV with a square nimbus, taken from a Roman mosaic in St. Mark, and belonging to the ninth century; and another² from a mosaic at St. Cecilia of Rome, also of the ninth century. That square nimbi were restricted to living personages renowned for their sanctity or greatness, we have the authority of Paulus Diaconus, and his statement is fully sustained by the representations found on Italian monuments. Mosaics in the Vatican represent Charlemagne and pope Leo III, both of whom were alive at the time of their execution, as having square nimbi. Pope Paschal is also furnished with a square nimbus.³ Durandus, in his *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*, tells us that "when any living prelate or saint is portrayed, the glory is not fashioned in the shape of a shield, but four square; that he may be shewn to flourish in the four cardinal virtues, as it is contained in the legend of blessed Gregory." The translators and editors of this work state, however, that this practice does not appear to have prevailed in England, and cite, as the nearest contemporary effigies of a saint observed by them, a stained glass representing St. Thomas of Hereford, in the church of Cothelstone, Somersetshire, where the nimbus is as usual of a circular form, and also the fresco of the martyrdom of St. Thomas of Canterbury, in Preston church, Sussex, which is nearly contemporary.⁴ A rectangular nimbus in the form of a

¹ Iconographie, p. 34.

² Ibid. p. 79.

³ See *Archæological Journal*, No. I, p. 75, from the church of St. Cecilia at Rome.

⁴ Symbolism of Churches and Church Monuments, p. 66, Lond. 1843.

roll of manuscript, attached to a living bishop, is given by Didron¹ from a miniature in a Latin manuscript of the ninth century.

The nimbus of departed saints, when represented by painting, is sometimes merely a thread of light bounding the outline,² and entirely transparent within, while in other instances the outline is marked by numerous rays or beams of light, by flowers, stars, or other ornaments; when, however, the sculptor crowned *his* workmanship with a nimbus, he was compelled to adopt a different arrangement, and had recourse to a disk or plate of metal, which could be richly ornamented with jewels, gilding, and enamel, corresponding with, but surpassing in brilliancy, the coloured decoration, at that time profusely lavished upon the entire figure. The glass painters had it quite in their power to represent a transparent nimbus, yet they, for the most part, preferred an imitation of the opaque glory of the statuary; indeed, figures in glass appear rather to have been copied from stone sculptured images, than from the human figure.

The nimbus was frequently made the medium of indicating by its colour, or symbolical ornamentation, the person upon whose head it was placed; thus the figure of the blessed Virgin was often crowned with a glory of blue enamel, bordered with golden stars. The names of many saints were also inscribed upon the margins of their respective nimbi.³ Angels and archangels had usually within their nimbi peculiar ornaments which probably indicated a distinctive symbolism to be afterwards described.

From a natural desire to enhance the merits of their founders and other eminent men, numbered by the church of Rome among her saints, the monastic orders frequently

¹ Iconographie, p. 82.

² Although a single line often denotes the nimbus, as stated above, it is yet sometimes found to be formed of double lines, and each of these lines is also occasionally doubled. Sometimes the rays proceeding from these lines pass off at equal distances all round, as in a beautiful representation of the Last Supper by Giotto (Rosini, *Storia Pittura Italiana*, tav. vii), in which all the apostles, with the exception of Judas, are thus nimbed, whilst the Saviour is distinguished by a nimbus having rays arranged in three divisions. Another arrangement is presented by an intermediate double line between the two single lines, as in a painting by Franco Bolognese. The variations in this respect are very numerous.

³ Ambrogio Lorenzetti has inserted the names of several saints in his picture of the Entombment of Christ. (Rosini, tav. xxii.)

departed from the simplicity of early Christian symbolism, and represented on their images and paintings attributes approaching to those which have been considered peculiar to the Deity; thus the nimbus was often, in such cases, represented not as *resting upon*, but as *proceeding from*, the heads of these highly honoured saints, an important distinction which materially affects the symbolical meaning. There is an example of this extravagant practice in a painting of St. Francis, in a village near Sienna, where he is seen standing with extended arms, as if on a cross, within an aureole composed of seraphim; wounds on his side, hands, and feet, similar to those of the crucified Jesus, emitting rays of light; the head surrounded by a brilliant glory, and surmounted by three angels in attitudes of profound adoration; almost all the attributes which could make St. Francis equal to the Saviour are heaped into the picture;¹ but in this case, as in every other instance of similar overstretched symbolism, there is omitted one distinctive mark of divinity with which the most enthusiastic artistic devotee has never ventured to invest the object of his veneration.

When the Deity is represented in mediæval art, under the likeness of humanity, the head is usually surrounded by a nimbus similar in form to those which crown the heads of apostles and saints, but with the addition of certain lines or figures so disposed as to suggest the idea of a cross within its circumference. See cut (on next page) taken from a miniature in a French manuscript of the thirteenth or fourteenth century, representing the Deity creating the sun, moon, and stars. So also in another, exhibiting Jehovah as the god of combats, armed with a sword and bow and arrows, taken from an Italian manuscript of the end of the twelfth century, in the Bibliothèque Impériale at Paris. This arrangement is known to archaeologists as the cruciform, cruciferous, or crossed nimbus;² names which are



¹ This picture is by C. Sassetta, engraved in Rosini's work, tav. I., bearing the date of 1444.

² A fine example of the (so called) cruciform nimbus is to be seen in tav.

adopted by almost all modern writers on Christian symbolism, and by many, if not all, of the antiquarian and archæological societies of the present time. This distinguishing nimbus is invariably confined to representations of the three divine personages of the Holy Trinity, whether they are figured as human beings or symbolically indicated, as a hand in act of blessing, as a lamb, or as a dove.



The arrangement is thus described by M. Didron, who has devoted much skill, energy, and learning, to the elucidation of the subject. "When the nimbus is circular, and belongs to one of the persons of the Holy Trinity, it is always, unless the omission arises from the ignorance of the artist, divided by two lines drawn from the outer edges, and intersecting each other at right angles in the centre, these lines form four rays, but one of them, the lowest, is concealed by the head."¹

The intention of the arrangement is further described by the same author:—

"The supreme head of all, God the Father, or the Son, or the Holy Ghost, had a circular nimbus, a disk precisely resembling that of the saints; but the nimbus of the divine person was, as a mark of special distinction, divided diagonally by two intersecting lines in the form of a cross."² It would thus appear that the cross, the well-known emblem of Christianity, was adopted by ancient religious artists to indicate the representations of the Deity, and this idea is undoubtedly accepted at the present time by the all but universal use of the term "cruciform nimbus" whenever it is referred to. It is one object of this

VIII of the School of Giotto, taken from a painting representing the Coronation of the Virgin.

¹ "Quand le nimbe est circulaire et qu'il appartient aux personnes divines, il est toujours, sauf omission ou ignorance de l'artiste, partagé par deux lignes qui aboutissent à la circonférence et qui se coupent au centre, à l'angle droit. Ces lignes forment quatre rayons, mais l'un d'eux, l'inférieur, est caché par la tête." (*Iconographie*, p. 35.)

² "Le chef de tous, Dieu, ou le Père, ou le Fils, ou le Saint-Esprit, eut un nimbe en cercle, un nimbe en disque comme les autres saints; mais, par une distinction spéciale, le nimbe des personnes divines fut partagé diagonalement par deux traverses en forme de croix." (*Ib.* p. 101.)



paper to suggest that an entirely different meaning was intended by the ancient artist in painting the divine nimbus, and that the modern name is objectionable, as conveying an erroneous idea.

Though always a divine, this, so called cruciform nimbus, is not an exclusively Christian emblem. Like the nimbi of the saints it was used by, and probably originated with, the eastern pagans. The Hindoo goddess Maya (see plate 33),¹ is figured with a large circular nimbus of beams radiating from the head, among which are distinctly marked three rays of greater brilliancy or importance, corresponding in character and form with those which we find similarly placed on the heads of the persons of the Holy Trinity. Whatever therefore its purpose, or its origin, this peculiarly marked nimbus appears to be common to pagan as well as to the Christian religion; and also in both cases distinctive of, and peculiar to, the divinity.

The idea usually conveyed to the mind by the appearance of the nimbus on the heads of pagan deities, is that of fire, each flame-like emanation for the most part converging to a point, but on the heads of the Christian Trinity the rays more frequently diverge from the head to the edge of the nimbus, and thus present the appearance and effect of light rather than of fire. The nimbus of the Hindoo goddess Maya, represented in plate 33, is however an exception to this rule, which, although generally applicable, is by no means universal; it is however worthy of notice, as it appears to distinguish the worship of paganism, with its confined objects and material sacrifices, accompanied by and accomplished through the medium of *fire*, from the expanding influences of revealed religion, which have diffused the blessings of impalpable *light* and knowledge over humanity, and thus become truthful images of its spiritual sacrifice and worship.

Allusion has already been made to the reverence and adoration with which many ancient nations regarded the sun; human eyes cannot look upon the unmitigated splendour of its rays with impunity, therefore to prostrate him-

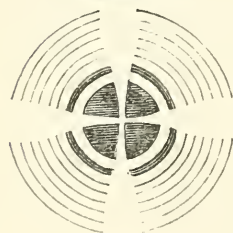
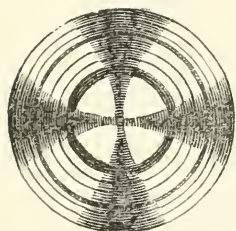
¹ Taken from plate xix, No. 103, "Religions de l'Antiquité," translated by Guignaut from F. Creuzer's "Symbolik und Mythologie der alten Völker, besonders der Griechen," etc., who derives the figure from N. Müller's "Glauben, Wissen und Kunst der alten Hindus," tab. ii, 15.

self upon the earth, or to veil his head when worshipping, was a practice, under the circumstances, most natural to man.

If we look at the sun, the moon, or any brilliant artificial light, under the same circumstances as those with which the ancient pagan or Jew was directed to approach his Deity—that is with the eyes covered with a veil, or half-closed, it immediately presents the appearance of emitting clustered rays of light at right angles, corresponding with those passing from the Hindoo goddess Maya, and from other numerous representations of the Deity produced by Christian mediæval artists.



Without presuming to offer any scientific explanation of this curious optical phenomenon, it may be proper to add, that rays of light transmitted through certain natural crystals, gums, and liquids, arrange themselves in singular figures of varied form, but very generally corresponding with the rays found within the divine nimbus: the limbs



however are always four in number, thus forming a true cross: of these two examples are here given: one shows a black rectangular cross, with the arms meeting in the centre; the other shows the cross formed by the absence of colour in a portion of the circles. This is a comparatively recent discovery in optics, and does not bear any analogy—beyond a curious coincidence—with the rays in the divine nimbus; the origin of which may, it is presumed, be reasonably attributed to the sun seen through the veils, or with the half-closed eyes of humble worshippers.

¹ The curious optical fact alluded to may be verified by the simplest means: to effect which it is requisite that the texture of the veil should be rather open, with the threads crossing each other at right angles; it should be held close to the eyes, and if an artificial light be looked at, there should be but one in the room, placed at least a few yards distant from the observer. When the object is looked at with half-closed eyes, the streams of light are somewhat less regularly disposed, and those in a vertical position are longer than the horizontal rays; there can, however, be no difficulty in detecting the effect. This origin of the (so called) cruciform nimbus was suggested in a brief communication by

I venture, though with some diffidence, to hazard the opinion, that with occasional, but very rare exceptions, the mediæval Christian artist when painting the nimbus of the Deity, did not intend to represent, or at all to refer to the cross; but that his purpose was to demonstrate, by three rays of light proceeding from the divine head, that the one person represented was invested with the power, and the glory, as well as the identity, of the other persons forming the Holy Trinity.

Reference to the paintings of the earliest masters satisfactorily demonstrate that three rays only were intended to proceed to and to form the nimbus. As instances of this, we may refer to the beautiful work (already cited) of Rosini, where examples will be found to illustrate this remark, especially in the following plates: *Epocha Prima*. "Tav. E. Mosaico di Solsterno nel Duomo di Spoleto del 1209," a most beautiful composition representing the Saviour seated on a throne, Sancta Maria on his right hand, and Sanctus Johannes on his left, standing. The rays in this case, as in many others, are ornamented and formed of various figures, of which those of a lozenge-shape are most conspicuous.

Tav. III. "Cristo di Giunta Pisano," belonging also to the 13th century, exquisitely executed, is another illustration; the ornamentation of the rays is here of an unusually large size, and so arranged as to demonstrate that a fourth could never have been intended, for in their extent they occupy nearly the whole of the periphery of the circle.

Two other examples from the same school are exhibited in Tav. v.

However appropriate as an emblem of the Son of God, the cross has not the same apt and significant meaning with reference to the Father and to the Holy Spirit: to them it would be quite as inapplicable as to the Buddhist and Hindoo divinities, whose heads are invested with an ornament similar to that which the Christian artist placed upon the persons of the Holy Trinity, when represented together under the semblance of humanity. Of this two

the author, for which see the "Athenæum" of the 11th October 1845, p. 995. See also sir David Brewster's "Treatise on Optics," Lond., 1853, Part II, chap. xxviii, pp. 250, 251, figs. 119, 120, on the "System of Coloured Rings in Crystals, with one Axis."

examples are here given,¹ which sufficiently show that whatever the symbolical meaning of the three rayed orna-



Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.

ments, it must be one alike applicable to the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, because they are each invested with it, and that too without the slightest distinguishing difference. It would be easy to adduce numerous additional examples of the same kind,² and to support this part of the argument, by figuring the gross representations of the Holy Trinity which disgraced the latter days of mediæval religious art, such as three heads on one body, and three faces on one head, surrounded by one nimbus, encompassing three rays; or, by the no less objectionable pictures of the Supreme Father clothed as an ancient pope, supporting on his knees the figure of the Son the Saviour, extended upon a cross in the agony of death, while the Holy Spirit, as a dove, passes between them; the heads being all similarly nimbed and marked with the divine rays; but I decline, for obvious reasons, to reproduce such monstrous and irreverent illustrations. An example is however here given of the Father bearing the nimbus in the very demonstrative form of a triangle. It is from an early Italian painting on wood, in Greco-Italian style of the thirteenth or fourteenth century, engraved in the *Storia dell'Arte* by Seroux d'Agincourt, tom. III. tav. cxi. M. Didron also gives³ an example, taken from a Greek fresco at Mount Athos, of the



¹ Fig. 1, the Holy Trinity, from a French miniature of the fourteenth century, in the royal library at Paris. ("Iconog.," p. 446.) Fig. 2, the same, from a French miniature of the sixteenth century, in the Bibliothèque de St. Geneviève. ("Iconog.," p. 483.)

² See Didron's work, under the head of "Nimbe de la Trinité," p. 156 et seq. The French edition alone contains them; they are omitted in the English translation.

³ Iconographie, p. 33.

seventeenth century, representing God the Father with a nimbus in the form of a triangle, bearing rays which proceed from each of its sides. He states this to be a form of extreme rarity in France, but frequent in Greece and Italy after the fifteenth century. A double triangle, forming the nimbus also of God the Father is given by Didron,¹ taken from a fresco at Mount Athos; and a nimbus of a lozenge-shape of God the Father, from a miniature of the sixteenth century in an Italian manuscript in the Bibliothèque Royale. (See cut.)

In one of the ancient "mysteries" or "miracle plays", once so popular in England, called "A Council of the Trinity, and the Incarnation", there is a note, or stage direction, which elucidates this subject, by showing that three, and not four, beams of light were employed to demonstrate the presence of God. The arch-angel Gabriel has announced to the Virgin Mary the intended incarnation, and received her assent, when the following sentence occurs within a parenthesis:—

*("Her' the holy gost descendit, with iij bemys, to o' lady; the sone of the Godhed, nest, with iij bemys to the holy gost; the ffadyr, godly, with iij bemys, to the sone; And so entre, all thre, to her bosom; and Mary seyth",)*²

A fourth limb or ray in the nimbus of the Saviour, is very rare, and, it must be added, of doubtful authority. M. Didron figures only one example,³ taken from the stalls in the Cathedral of Notre Dame of Amiens, erected in the sixteenth century, at which time the spirit of Christian symbolism had greatly degenerated from its early purity and simplicity. The Saviour is represented as seen from



¹ Iconographie, p. 61.

² Hone's "Ancient Mysteries," described from Cotton. MS., pageant xi, p. 44.

³ Iconographie, p. 104.

behind, a position very unusual, if not unique, and the nimbus, if such be intended, is placed upon the head like a cap, or casquette, the top of which is ornamented with a braided or embroidered device, in some degree resembling a cross, but which may be easily mistaken for a merely fanciful arrangement of pattern.

The nimbus is sometimes placed like to a casquette over the head, and at a little distance removed from it, as in a painting of Antonio Salario,¹ belonging to the fifteenth century. Another example² is afforded by Altichieri in the Oratory of S. George, in Padua, representing the martyrdom of S. Giacomo, also of the fifteenth century. Late examples, in a few instances, give evidence of four rays, as in the sixteenth century, by Ambrogio Borgognoni,³ in the Coronation of the Virgin, and in the Resurrection, by Raffaellino del Garbo.⁴

In representations of the Veronica, there is an opportunity of displaying a fourth limb, and every inducement to indicate a cross,⁵ were such intended, but three rays only are found in the examples of this subject.

The head of our Lord was often engraved in the centre of the patens of old church plate; but here, also, as in the Veronica, it is unusual to meet with more than three limbs. There is however an instance of a fourth limb on the paten still in use at Pilton church, Somersetshire, but it is of a comparatively recent date, and so poorly executed, that it may well be supposed the result of a mistake in the hands of some illiterate artist. Many other examples have no fourth limb, though offering equal facilities for its display.⁶

Italian artists sometimes placed the capital letters R E X, expressive of the royal dignity of the Saviour, one on each of the three rays in the nimbus. In the same way the Byzantine artists were accustomed to use the three Greek letters, signifying, when united, the words "I AM," as in the accompanying illustration.⁷ In



¹ Rosini, *Storia Pitt. Ital.*, tav. xxxvii.

² *Ib.*, tav. xl.

³ *Ib.*, tav. ci.

⁴ *Ib.*, tav. civ.

⁵ See "*Chronicon Norimbergense*."

⁶ See "*Specimens of Ancient Church Plate*," published by J. H. Parker, Oxford.

⁷ Jesus Christ with a nimbus. ("*Iconographic*," p. 48.) Another example is given p. 61.

each case the sense of the inscription is completed by the use of three letters; had a fourth ray been intended, even though concealed, it appears at least probable that it would have been supplied by some understood letter, in an appropriate inscription; by the ordinary arrangement, however, three letters and three rays are sufficient to make the subject complete and perfect.

In the example given above, it will be observed that a fourth ray might have been indicated by continuing one of the vertical lines under the beard, had the artist desired to represent a cross. Lest this should be thought a



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rare and exceptional instance, several examples of a similar kind are here given, in which the omission of any indication of a fourth limb is evidently intentional.¹ The position of the head is indeed rarely such as to allow any space whatever for the display of a fourth ray, and in most of the examples engraved, that space is extremely small. Yet, when we remember the importance of the cross in the eyes of the mediæval artists, we cannot suppose that they systematically omitted its representation, when they could by any means carry it out, and we are constrained to believe that they did not, as a rule, desire to display that symbol within the nimbus of the

¹ Fig. 1, from a French miniature of the thirteenth century. ("Iconographie," p. 220.)

Fig. 2, from an Italian miniature of the fourteenth century. (Ib., p. 310.)

Fig. 3, from a fresco of the Basilica of St. Paul, of the twelfth century; engraved in Seroux d'Agincourt's "Storia del Arte," tom. iii, pl. xvi.

Fig. 4, head of the Saviour, from a manuscript of the eleventh century in the British Museum; engraved in Twining's "Symbols of Mediæval Art."

Fig. 5, head of the infant Saviour, from a wall painting in St. John's church, Winchester; engraved in the *Journal* of the British Archaeological Association, vol. ix, plate 6.



Deity, since we do not find ancient examples with a fourth ray, either in number or importance, at all to be compared with the numerous instances in which it is intentionally absent. The annexed representation of the head of the infant Saviour, taken from an ancient Greek painting on

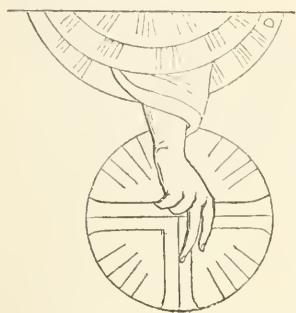


wood, given in Seroux d'Agincourt's work (plate lxxxvii), and said to be carefully traced from the original, offers a very interesting example of the three-rayed nimbus, arranged in the double lined form.

That the ancient artists purposely omitted to represent a fourth ray in the divine nimbus in the examples admitting of its indication which have been figured above, may be assumed from reference to a figure of the Saviour, represented in this *Journal* (vol. ix. pl. 5), from a wall-painting in St. John's church, Winchester, in which the position of the head is such as to allow a mere indication only of the third ray; but even in this most unfavourable arrangement that third ray is very carefully introduced. The almost impossibility of a fourth ray to constitute a cross is particularly shewn in an engraving from a painting of the

Crucifixion by Giunta Pisano.¹ The three rays are here highly ornamented, and are made to occupy nearly the entire of the circle of the nimbus.

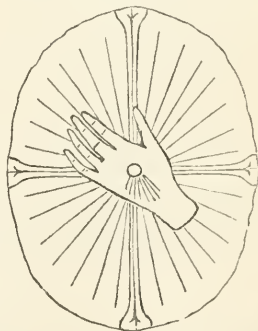
The Almighty Father is frequently represented symbolically by a hand proceeding from clouds, in the act of blessing. This symbol is also usually surrounded by a nimbus, containing the three divine rays, a fourth ray being of very rare occurrence; the place it would occupy is indeed usually covered by the wrist, but in the annexed example² it may be seen that there is space sufficient for its indication on each side of the hand, and it is presumed that had a cross been intended, that space would have been occupied by the fourth limb. The wood-cut is taken from a miniature



of the ninth century, in the Bibliothèque Royale, representing the martyrdom of St. Stephen, who appears to be gazing into the opening heaven, from which the hand of God is extended towards him. The blessing and support afforded to St. Stephen, at the time of his extreme suffering, by the appearance of the hand of the Almighty emitting three beams of light, ex-

pressive of the presence and interest of the Holy Trinity, has an evident completeness and propriety, which is certainly wanting if we can suppose the subject to represent merely the hand of the Father resting upon the cross of the Son, without any indication of the presence of the Holy Spirit.

That the mediæval artist had no difficulty in representing the cross in connection with the hand, when he desired to do so, may be seen from another example here given, in which the wounded hand of the Saviour is shown to emit *four* rays, forming that symbol.³ In such a situation, a cross is entirely appropriate. Three rays so placed would be altogether incongru-



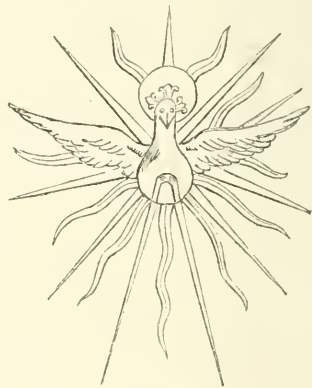
¹ Rosini, tav. iii, Epocha Prima.

² Iconographie, p. 56.

³ From pl. 19, Twining's "Symbols," etc. It is taken from a manuscript

ous, since the wounds and the cross are alike peculiar to the Son of God, while a cross on any representation of the Father or of the Holy Spirit, must for the same reason be equally objectionable.

The dove, symbolical of the Holy Spirit, is usually figured in old illuminations and stained glass, with the circular nimbus containing either two or three, but never four rays; the bill of the bird often occupies the place of the third ray; the fourth, if we can suppose such to be intended, would in most cases be covered by the neck. The trine arrangement is well indicated by an example from the Chaise Dieu tapisseries (see cut annexed), representing the Holy Spirit descending on the Virgin and Apostles; where the dove has the head surrounded by a nimbus containing three fleurs-de-lis, all pointing upwards, while three flame-like rays proceed in the same direction, from the boundary of the nimbus, neither of these groups at all resembling a cross.



In another example, taken from a Saxon MS. of the eleventh century, in the British Museum,¹ we see three rays pass beyond the boundary of the circular nimbus; a fourth, had such been desired, could have been easily indicated in the same line with that which proceeds from the bill, its absence under the circumstances shows that the artist did not intend to represent a cross.

The Holy Spirit, as well as the Almighty Father, was sometimes, though rarely, represented with a triangular nimbus, sufficiently expressive of its



Book of Hours, of the fifteenth century, in the British Museum, symbolically illustrating the Passion by the hand of Christ.

¹ Engraved in Twining's "Symbols and Emblems," plate 35, page 72, explained to be "the Holy Spirit with the crossed nimbus."

reference to the Trinity. We give an example from a mosaic in the Cathedral in Capua.¹

The same allusion is indicated by the trine arrangement of three groups of rays proceeding from the descending dove, given by Didron² from a wood carving of the fourteenth century,



representing the baptism of our Lord: and by the three beams upon which the Holy Spirit descends from heaven, to the tri-nimbed head of the Saviour, in another representation of the same subject, engraved by Seroux d'Agincourt, tom. iii, pl. xxxix. These examples are

all indications of the same idea: the actual presence of the Holy Trinity in the one person represented or symbolized, without any reference whatever to the cross of our Lord's passion.

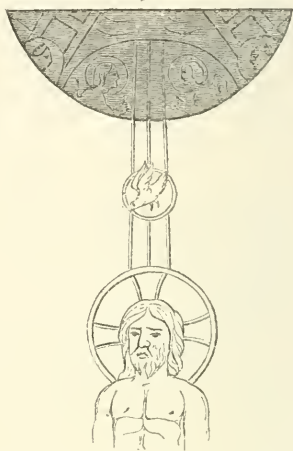
St. John the Baptist announced the presence of the Saviour in the words, "Behold the Lamb of God", and the lamb has been accepted as the symbol of Jesus from the earliest period of Christian art to the present time. The accompanying cut represents St. John the Baptist carrying the Lamb of God, and is taken from a statue of the thirteenth century, in the cathedral of Chartres. St. John will here be seen properly exhibited with a plain nimbus; but the lamb is inscribed in a plain aureole without the so-called cruciform nimbus. Very early representations of the lamb have been met with, bearing on its forehead the passion cross, without any nimbus, and also with the Greek monogram,



¹ Engraved in Twining's "Symbols and Emblems," plate 24.

² Engraved only in the French edition. ("Iconographie," p. 542.)

of Christ between the letters Alpha and Omega, surrounded by a nimbus. A staff, surmounted by a cross, is frequently placed beside, or supported by the lamb. All these attributes, however, are peculiar to the Second Person of the Trinity, and have a significant meaning altogether different from, and independent of, the three-rayed nimbus. This emblem of the Triune Deity is found on the head of the Agnus Dei as on the other divine symbols without any indication of a fourth limb or ray, necessary to form the cross. Three examples are given in the annexed cuts, in which that fourth limb might have been indicated, had the representation of a cross been intended. The first is the representation of the lamb with a nimbus, containing a cross in each division, taken from a sculpture in the catacombs of Rome, and engraved in *Twining's Symbols, &c.* (pl. 10). A similar example is given by Didron (*Iconographie*, p. 46), from an Italian sculpture of the tenth century, the figure of which is represented in the first number of the *Archæological Journal*, p. 75. The second example is also that of an Agnus Dei, also engraved in *Twining's Symbols* (pl. 10), a specimen of early Christian art; and the third, from the same source, is taken from a painted glass of the thirteenth century in the cathedral of Bourges.



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The Saviour is sometimes represented bearing His cross, an action which appears sufficient to identify His person.

He is nevertheless invested with a divine nimbus, which if referring to the cross only, would in such circumstances be superfluous. In the annexed example, given in *Twinning's Symbols* (pl. 20), and taken from a painted window of the thirteenth century, the arms of the cross are curiously indicated by lines nearly parallel with the rays in the nimbus: the symbol, and the subject symbolized, would scarcely be pictured in such close proximity. The three-rayed nimbus, however, demonstrates the divinity of the Saviour, and also the doctrine of the Trinity.



In examples of the divine nimbus from French authorities, the rays very often assume the form of the fleur-de-lis, a well-known national emblem, which is probably itself a symbol of the Trinity. The accompanying example, taken from an engraving in the *Tapisseries de la Chaise Dieu* (pl. 3), presents an instance in which the rays do not appear as being behind the head of our Lord, but as absolutely passing from, amidst the hair, which is most clearly marked in the upper ray.



Sometimes the three rays of the divine nimbus, all point, more or less, upwards, as in a bas-relief on a silver reliquary, engraved in *Seroux d'Agincourt's History* (tom. II. pl. xxi). This arrangement is somewhat in favour of the idea that, with the addition of a fourth limb, a cross was intended to be represented, because such a form would be available for the purpose of crucifixion, and is in fact a kind of cross often found in old pictures; but we also meet with instances, as in an example given by Mrs. Jameson in the *Legends of the Madonna* (p. 268), from a picture of the Milanese School, in which

He is nevertheless invested with a divine nimbus, which if referring to the cross only, would in such circumstances be superfluous. In the annexed example, given in *Twinning's Symbols* (pl. 20), and taken from a painted window of the thirteenth century, the arms of the cross are curiously indicated by lines nearly parallel with the rays in the nimbus: the symbol, and the subject symbolized, would scarcely be pictured in such close proximity. The three-rayed nimbus, however, demonstrates the divinity of the Saviour, and also the doctrine of the Trinity.



the rays are so expressly indicative of light, that we can scarcely doubt the artists intended to convey that idea rather than the figure of a material cross.

Instances also occur in which the two rays usually placed in a horizontal direction, are made to point downwards, as in an example given in the *Archæologia* (vol. 24, pl. lxxii), from *Cædman's Metrical Paraphrase of Scripture History*, a manuscript of the tenth century, in the Bodleian Library. This arrangement, with the addition of a fourth limb, would not form an instrument practicable for crucifixion, nor would it correspond with any known form of the cross, including the numerous fanciful varieties into which this emblem has been tortured by the ingenuity of heraldic painters. The late Mr. Pugin suggested this arrangement as a proper nimbus for the head of the Eternal Father; but, as has been already explained, there is in mediæval examples a perfect identity in the nimbi of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. The depressed nimbus is rarely met with, but it occurs on the head of the Son in a figure in *Cædmon's Paraphrase* (vol. 24, pl. lxxi), as well as on the Father. In addition to the peculiar arrangement of the horizontal rays, the last illustration is another instance of space for a fourth limb, without any indication of an intention to figure a cross.

There are numerous instances, of which we give some



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examples. Figs. 1, 2, and 3, are derived from an early black-letter life of Christ, in which the centre of the nimbus does not coincide with the point from which the rays proceed, that point being placed so low that a fourth limb,

if intended, would be much shorter than the three rays indicated; and, if thus completed, would not accord with any known variety of the cross. This peculiarity on the head of the infant Saviour, and, in addition, the star of the nativity,



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resting upon three rays of light, passing from heaven to Bethlehem, is shown in the accompanying cut, derived from a Greek manuscript of the gospels of the twelfth century, in the library of the Vatican, and figured by Serroux d'Agincourt, tom. iii, plate lix.



In other examples, the point from which the rays proceed is placed above the centre of the nimbus, as in an example given by the same authority (plate xxxix), from a Latin manuscript of the ninth century in the library of Minerva at Rome. By this arrangement, a fourth limb, if supplied, would form a Latin cross,

the fourth limb being longer than the others: it is, however, of very rare occurrence.

M. Didron gives an example of an elevated nimbus, on a figure of our Lord sitting in judgment, from a fresco of the eleventh century in the transept of the church of Montoire, near Vendome, in which the centre of the circular nimbus is placed above the apex of the head. The three rays are seen to meet at this



point, and present an appearance exactly similar to the bands upon the orb so often represented in the hands of the Eternal Father, and of Jesus Christ, and to the similar mound placed in the hands of Christian sovereigns at their coronation. M. Didron assumes that the orb, and not a nimbus, is in this instance intended, and remarks that "Christ would thus appear to support the world on his head; and this circled sphere carries us back immediately

to Egyptian iconography, in which we meet with numerous personages bearing the world upon their heads in a similar manner."¹ A reference to the engraving (see plate 34), which has been carefully reproduced, will show that this ingenious theory is altogether untenable. So far from our Lord supporting the world upon His head, He in fact rests His feet upon the earth as "His footstool"; an arrangement far from uncommon in mediæval illustrations of the last judgment. The rays upon the nimbus, indeed, exactly correspond with the bands upon the imperial orb,—and very properly so when it is remembered that they symbolize the same fact. That the bands encircling the earth express the presence and protecting power of the Holy Trinity over the world, is clearly implied by the words and rubric of the ancient coronation services, where the archbishop, on delivering the orb to the king, says, "Receive this imperial orb, and remember that the whole world is subject to the power and empire of God." It is to be regretted that the modern orb, used at the coronations of British sovereigns, has been so made as in some degree to obscure the old symbolical meaning of the bands or rays.² They are indicated by rows of rich jewels, the horizontal band being continued on both sides along its entire length, as in the orb used at the coronation of George IV;³ while in most ancient examples (as seen on the great seal of Henry VIII), the vertical and horizontal bands are connected, or run into each other without obstruction.



The royal and imperial crowns of Christian sovereigns are almost invariably surmounted with a golden orb thus banded or rayed, and bearing a cross on its apex.⁴ In the

¹ "Jesus semble donc soutenir le monde avec sa tête, et cette sphère cerclée nous ramène directement à l'iconographie égyptienne, où nous voyons une foule de personnages portant ainsi le globe du monde sur leur tête." (Iconographie, p. 47.)

² This is, however, but a trifling error in comparison with the mistake made by the parties who prepared the regalia for the coronation of William and Mary. A separate orb was made for, and delivered to, each; and this duplicate world is, I believe, still preserved among the British regalia. On their great seal, however (as in that of Philip and Mary) the orb is placed between them, and each rests a hand upon it.

³ See sir George Nayler's account of the ceremony.

⁴ Forty-seven out of the forty-nine European Christian crowns are thus decorated, the exceptions being Sicily (which has a large cross, *botonné*, without orb)



eleventh century, the orb borne in the hands of British sovereigns was frequently surmounted by a dove, and sometimes the dove rested on a cross: symbols which sufficiently indicate the religious idea to which the orb refers.

Durandus, bishop of Mende, writing upon the symbolism of churches and church ornaments in the thirteenth century, gives two accounts of the crown or nimbus of the Saviour, which in some degree contradict each other, but both of which we quote:—"The crown of Christ is represented under the figure of a cross, and is thereby distinguished from that of the saints, because by the banner of His cross He gained for Himself the glorification of His humanity, and for us freedom from our captivity, and the enjoyment of everlasting life". And again, "Christ was *triply* crowned,—first, by His mother, on the day of His conception, with crown of pity, which was a double crown, on account of what He had by nature, and what was given Him,—therefore also it is called a diadem, which is a double crown; secondly, by His step-mother, in the day of His passion, with the crown of misery; thirdly, by His Father, in the day of His resurrection, with the crown of glory."¹ Durandus is more remarkable for the amplitude than the accuracy of his explanations of church symbolism, and in this case appears desirous to give a double explanation to the same subject, without being very explicit in either.

The Greek letter **Τ** (called in the language of heraldry the cross *tau*, but which is really no cross, since the lines by which it is formed merely meet and join each other without crossing) bears some analogy to the appearance of the rays in the divine nimbus, and to those on the orb: indeed, if we could suppose the *tau* to be used in an inverted position, the coincidence in form would be exact. On some examples of the orb, the rays are placed exactly in the shape of that letter, as in the annexed exemplification taken from an orb in the hand of the Deity, from a French miniature of the eleventh cen-



and Portugal, which is surmounted by a trefoil ornament. (Vide "Wappen Almanach, der Souverainen Regenten Europa's.")

¹ "The Symbolism of Churches and Church Ornaments," a translation of the first book of the "Rationale Divinorum Officiorum," written by William Du-

ture.¹ It is not improbable that it may be directly referred to, or represented. Much mysterious significance has always been attributed to the letter *tau*, and it enters largely into the religious symbolism of the biblical antiquaries, which may probably have arisen from the fact of its being formed of three limbs, frequently, though not always, of equal length; and thus, like the *delta*, an appropriate symbol of the Holy Trinity.

The nimbi on the heads of archangels and angels are frequently distinguished by a significant ornament, which is never found except in those of the heavenly host. When it is remembered that these glorious beings are the special ministers and messengers of the Deity, and admitted into His awful presence, we may expect to meet with some indication of their peculiar office, and a reflexion from His glory. In Greek examples, therefore, we meet with a *delta* placed on the forehead, within the nimbus, as in a Greek painting.² (See fig. 1). The same very obvious idea is expressed, in other figures, by three circles joined together,—thus in another representation of an archangel, from a painting by Cimabue (fig. 2);³ or by a tongue of flame in the same situation, as in an angel from a painting, in the Florence gallery, by Lorenzo Monaco.⁴ (See fig. 3).



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Moses was admitted to the presence of God, and allowed, while yet upon earth, to witness the mitigated glory of the Almighty. Like the angels and archangels, he is distinguished by a particular nimbus, directly reflecting the

randus; with an introductory essay, etc., by the rev. J. M. Neale and the rev. Benjamin Webb. Leeds, 1843. 8vo., pp. 65, 66.

¹ Iconographie, p. 58.

² Engraved in Mrs. Jameson's "Sacred and Legendary Art," vol. i, p. 59.

³ Ibid., vol. i, p. 52.

⁴ Ibid., vol. i, p. 86.

divine glory, expressed, however, in the case of the prophet, by *two* beams of light only. The face of Moses, we are told by Scripture, shone with so bright a light that he covered it with a veil when conversing with the Jews. The following figures, the first of which is taken from an old black-letter Bible, gives the head of Moses furnished with two groups of rays; the second, head of the same, with two beams or horns within a circular nimbus, taken from a painted glass of the twelfth century, in the cathedral of Chartres, and engraved by Didron.¹



I do not attempt to offer any decided opinion as to the reasons which induced mediæval artists to adopt this curious arrangement, or to substitute for rays of light the two horns so often met with on the head of the prophet. They could not represent *three* rays without confounding the representations of Moses with those of the Deity. It may be suggested that, as the Almighty did not reveal Himself to Moses in *all* His glory, and delivered to him only that portion of the divine law peculiar and applicable to the Jews, the old artists may have refrained, for these reasons, from expressing in the nimbus of the prophet allusion to that Person of the Godhead whose advent on earth, though foretold, was not at that time accomplished. It is presumed that horns were represented instead of beams of light, because (as we are informed) the word employed in the original Hebrew admits of being interpreted in either sense; or it may have been suggested to them from the horns of the crescent moon, whose light is a reflexion from that of the sun, as the glory of Moses was derived from that of the Almighty. Most probably, however, it was caused by the practical difficulty which the early sculptors would meet with in any attempt to represent rays of light on the head of a stone image, and that therefore they availed themselves of the expedient permitted by the literal interpretation of the Hebrew text. How magnificently this was accomplished by Michael Angelo, in his majestic and

¹ Iconog., p. 119.

superhuman statue of the great prophet of the Israelites, is well known to all lovers of art.

The evangelists are always crowned with nimbi, whether they are figured in their own persons, or symbolically represented as a man, an ox, and a lion with wings, for St. Matthew, St. Luke, and St. Mark ; or as an eagle, for St. John. There is no peculiarity to distinguish their nimbi from those of other saints ; and no indication of a cross, or of three rays, is to be met with in ancient examples. It might be expected that figures of St. Peter and St. Andrew would have in their nimbi indications of the instruments of their martyrdom, which were in each case crosses, but of such peculiar forms as to distinguish them at all times from pictures of the Saviour. As, however, no such emblems ever appear in their nimbi, it may be inferred that neither does the ornamentation in the nimbi of our Lord refer to the instrument of His passion.

To render the treatment of this subject more complete, I shall close this paper with a few observations on

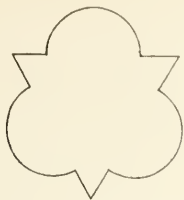
ARCHITECTURAL NIMBI.

The ornamental panels and the open tracery of windows, adopted by the ecclesiastical architects of the middle ages, had almost invariably something besides mere beauty of form to recommend them ; they were often indeed so deeply symbolical that we can now scarcely hope to discover the subjects to which many of them refer. I venture to suggest an explanation of two graceful panels which frequently occur among ancient embellishments, and which are often adopted by modern decorators, though, perhaps, without any just feeling of their true meaning and significant origin.

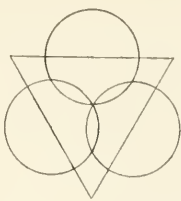
The first (see plate 35, fig. 1) consists of three acute angles and three semi-circular arches ; it occurs in ancient decoration and church windows, as a frame-work for the sacred name, the cross, Agnus Dei, dove, and similar subjects having direct reference to the Deity.

The propriety of this arrangement will be at once understood, when the lines forming the panel are united and carried *home* ; the figure then develops itself (fig. 2) into

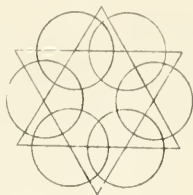
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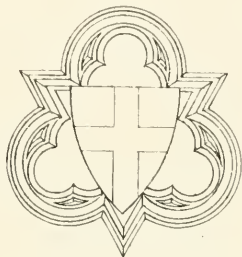
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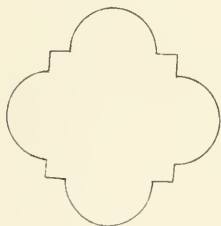
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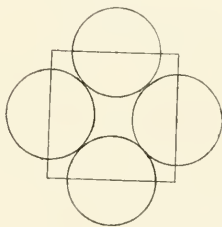
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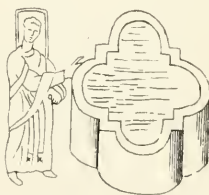
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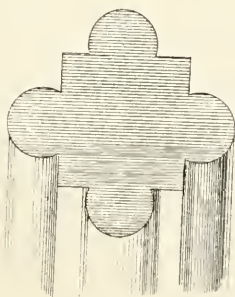
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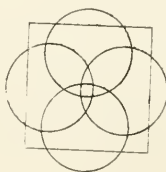
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8



9





the well-known Delta, the most frequently used of all emblems of the Trinity, the three equal limbs having each a circular nimbus or glory. Thus understood, the outline becomes a most fitting frame for the subjects already mentioned; but it is obviously inappropriate for emblems of inferior importance as those of the Evangelists, still more so for armorial bearings, crests, cyphers, and other heraldic ornaments, to all which purposes it is abundantly applied in modern art. There is a curious example of this ornament, arranged in duplicate, among the carved oak panels, probably of the time of Henry VII, in Smithills Hall, Lancashire (fig. 3); it is on one of a series of panels, all representing religious emblems, and occurs next to one bearing a beautiful and elaborate carving of the monogram of Jesus, the form of which is probably unique. Sometimes this nimbed Delta contains a heraldic shield, which is, however, always charged with some appropriate religious bearing, such as the cross, in fig. 4. The symbolism of this example is heightened by the trefoiled cusps in each semi-circle or half nimbus. In some instances, and particularly in church windows, the figure is inverted, one of the angles being placed at the top.

The second of these ornaments, though less important, is still very interesting. It consists of four right angles, and four semi-circular arches (fig. 5). When the lines are completed, as in the previous example, the figure becomes a square, having on each side a circular nimbus (fig. 6). We presume that for this reason it has been adopted by Christian artists as an appropriate frame for the symbolical representations of the Evangelists, of which numerous examples may be found in sepulchral brasses, where they form the corners of the border containing the inscription.

It is also often used to enclose pictured or sculptured representations of the Saviour, particularly when figured under the symbol of a lamb, and was a frequent form for the fonts of an early date, of which an example is given (fig. 7) from a Latin manuscript of the ninth century, in the Library of Minerva, at Rome.¹ It still forms the outline of many a noble pillar in the ancient churches of

¹ Engraved in Seroux d'Agincourt's "History of Art," tom. iii, pl. 39. This form of font admits of another very appropriate meaning: it may have reference to the four rivers of Paradise.

Christendom (fig. 8), and had, no doubt, in all these cases, the same significant meaning.¹

The circles on the lines were sometimes formed from a point within the square (fig. 9), in which case they intersect each other. In other instances two-thirds of each circle is represented outside of the square; such a frame-work was adopted by Giotto, for some of his famous religious paintings, particularly those representing St. Francis receiving the stigmata, and his ascent to heaven in a fiery car, in which other recognised emblems, peculiar to the Deity, as well as a symbolical guard of the Evangelistic glory, are misapplied to honour this popular saint of the church of Rome.

This figure of a square with circles, is, in ancient examples, often placed diagonally, with an angle of the square upwards, by which arrangement the elegance of the device is considerably enhanced.

ON SUDBROOK CAMP AND THE VIA JULIA.

BY THOMAS WAKEMAN, ESQ.

UPON the late visit of the Association to Sudbrook,² time would not admit of my doing more than directing the attention of those associates who were near me to the long ridges of rocks and sands extending to the south and southwest of the point, in the direction of a small rocky island called the Dinny, distant nearly five miles, which, the tide being out, we had then a very excellent opportunity of viewing. It is a well known fact that the sea has been for centuries, and still is, encroaching upon the land all along the coast of Monmouthshire: hundreds of

¹ From the church of St. Etienne, Nevers. Engraved in the "Glossary of Architecture," vol. ii, plate 105.

² See page 289, ante.

acres have disappeared within the memory of persons now living ; the dikes, or sea-walls (as they are locally called), which were formerly a quarter or half a mile from the water's edge, are now washed by the sea at every tide, and are rapidly being replaced by substantial stone walls. As an instance of the rapidity with which these *warth* lands, as they are locally termed, outside the dikes, have been washed away, about thirty years ago I was professionally engaged, by the commissioners of sewers, to survey and report upon the sea-walls and banks,—a friend of mine having a few years before advanced a sum of money on mortgage of fifty acres of this warth land ; and, as he could get no interest for his money, he requested me to look at and give him a plan of it, preparatory to taking possession. I accordingly requested the parish surveyor to point it out. The man smiled, and promised to do so. On arriving at the spot, he showed me two or three small patches of grass, altogether about three acres, saying, “ There, sir, is all that remains of Mr. B.'s fifty acres.” The Dinny is now at least two miles and a half from the nearest land ; but in a chart of the Severn, not two centuries old, it is laid down at a mile and a quarter. I have no doubt that at one time the rocks between Sudbrook Point and the Dinny formed a long tongue of dry land, separating the Severn from the estuary of the Troggi, or, as now called, the Neddern or Nedden, which at that time formed a tolerably capacious harbour. Port Ysgewin (Portscuit) is mentioned in the *Triads* as an important harbour, possessed of peculiar privileges. At present there is no shelter here for even a boat ; nor could there ever have been, but upon the supposition of the existence of this projecting headland extending from Sudbrook Point. The name of Portscuit has been derived from Port-is-coed (the port under the wood) ; but in the *Liber Landavensis* the name is Portiscwen (Port-is-cefn), the port below the ridge,—such as it may be supposed this tongue of land actually was. We have, moreover, the names of these rocks : Gruggy, that is Grugau, the heaths ; Bedweni, the birchen grove,—which could never have been given to places overflowed by the sea,—and lastly the Dinny. *Din* signifies a fortified hill, but in its primary acceptation is a point or extremity ; *dinau* is a plural : whence I conclude there were two points, forming

the entrance to the harbour, of which one has been washed away.

Assuming, then, this to have been the state of things when the camp was constructed, of which one half only is now remaining, it occupied the narrow isthmus connecting the long projecting ridge with the mainland. It was very probably a British fortress; but the discovery of Roman coins here, and other relics, prove it to have been occupied by the latter people as an appendage to the station of Venta, the port of which it defended, and from which it was distant three miles. The road may be traced very satisfactorily between the station and the camp. Upon none of the roads mentioned in the itinerary of Antoninus has there been more difference of opinion than upon that in the fourteenth iter, describing the route between Isca Silurum and Aqua Solis,—that is to say, Caerleon and Bath,—and which of course must have crossed the Severn somewhere; and as Trajectus is the name given to one of the stations, this is assumed to have been on the Severn; and accordingly, without any regard to the distances, or to the order in which the stations are mentioned, the passage has been placed in every possible position between the camp at Sudbrook and Lidney on the Welsh side, and the mouth of the Avon and Oldbury on the other, to suit the hypotheses of the writers. The same road is described in the itinerary ascribed to Richard of Cirencester, and professed to be taken from “certain fragments left by a Roman general”. Assuming this statement to be true, whether the work be that of an English monk, or of a northern professor, the author has entirely deprived it of any authority which it might otherwise possess, by the frank admission “that he had made alterations” in it. As he has not, however, pointed out where these emendations, as he considered them, have been made, we are left to our own conjectures to discover them. His eleventh iter includes the road in question, but goes in the opposite direction to that of Antoninus, viz., from Aqua Solis to Isca, but mentions the same intermediate stations, and makes the total distance the same within one mile. No doubt, therefore, can be entertained that the same road was intended to be described; but we have here a specimen of his so-called emendations and additions, in his having, in

a very bungling manner, transposed the Trajectus, and interpolated another stage of three miles (ad Sabrinam), altering the numerals accordingly. By arranging the two accounts side by side, and making them travel in the same direction, it will be seen at once where Richard, or whoever concocted the itinerary which goes by his name, tampered with his original copy :

14th Iter of Antonine.				11th Iter of Richard.			
From Isca Silurum				From Isca Silurum			
To Venta	9			To Venta	9		
To Abona	9			To Trajectus	8		
To Trajectus	9			To Ad Sabrinam	3		
To Aqua Solis	6			To Abona	6		
				To Aqua Solis	6		
			33				32

It is evident enough that the alteration made, was upon the assumption that the Trajectus must of necessity have referred to the passage over the Severn, and to no other river. He perhaps thought it was Beachley, which is eight miles from Caerwent, and where there was a *trajectus* in all probability, but on a different line of road, and therefore not the place in question ; besides, going off thus at a right angle to the proper direction, would increase the distance between the termini at least ten or twelve miles. The Trajectus of Antonine was on the Avon, six miles from Bath. Bitton answers the description, and there are there earthworks and tumuli. There can be no doubt about the station Abona, for it is so called in the title deeds to the present day. It is situate at the confluence of the Trim and the Avon, near Sea Mills, and encloses an area of fifty acres, which is rather larger than Caerwent, which is forty-five acres. The numerous antiquities that have been found there prove it to have been a town of considerable importance. The road between this place and Bitton can be traced very satisfactorily, especially where it crosses the downs on a raised bank from thirty to thirty-five feet wide. The distance is nine miles.

It only remains to point out the route from Caerwent to Abona, which, I have no hesitation in saying, was by way of Sudbrook. Antonine makes the distance nine miles ; but in the copies which have come down to us, the distance of three miles, from Caerwent to Sudbrook, is omitted,

probably through an error in transcribing: it seems, however, to have been noticed in the copy followed by Richard, but by transposing the Trajectus he has thrown the whole into confusion. The distance from Sudbrook Point to Abona, in the tide-way on the ordnance maps, is nine miles. Whether they landed above the mouth of the Avon, or ascended that river to the station, would make very little difference: it is probable that they sometimes landed at one place, and occasionally at the other, according to the state of the tide. The itinerary of Antonine, when the three miles (ad Sabrinam, Sudbrook) are restored to it, is correct; that of Richard is so likewise when his absurd transposition of Trajectus, and his alteration in the numerals are corrected. Thus:

<i>Antonine.</i>		<i>Richard restored.</i>		<i>Actual Distances from Cuerleon</i>	
From Isca Silurum		From Isca			
To Venta	9	To Venta	9	To Caerwent	9
To Sabrinam (omitted)	3	Ad Sabrinam	3	To Sudbrook	3
To Abona	9	To Abona (8)	9	To Abona	9
To Trajectus	9	To Trajectus	9	To Bitton	9
To Aqua Solis	6	To Aqua Solis	6	To Bath	6
	<hr/> 36		<hr/> 36		<hr/> 36

This appears to me quite conclusive on the subject. The place of embarkation may not have been at Sudbrook, but in all probability at some point two or three miles lower down, which is now overflowed by the sea, and below the dangerous rapids called the Shoots. As a further proof of the ravages of the sea on the Monmouthshire coast, I may mention that half of Goldclift Hill has been washed away; and if the remainder had not been protected by a substantial stone wall, it would have disappeared long ago. The priory, which was founded in 1113, is supposed to have stood on that side of the hill facing the sea; and it appears that in 1424 it was destroyed by a storm, as in the Patent Rolls, 3rd Henry VI, and again, 10th Henry VI, we find the monks were authorized to engage labourers to rebuild it. An extensive grove of trees stood still further out; the stumps are visible, still erect, down to low-water mark, which, the shore being very flat, is at a considerable distance from the foot of the hill. The land must have extended considerably beyond this grove, which I have traced half a mile, by computation, from the cliff. Of course no

remains of the monastery are now in existence, and no record has been preserved of the period of its final destruction; but I suspect it was never completely restored after the storm of 1424, as in 29th Henry VI, it was granted to Eton college, which was afterwards confirmed by Edward IV, to which establishment the estates still belong. Some monumental effigies now in the porch of the parish church are said to have been brought there from the priory.

NOTE ON THE TERRITORIES OF VORTIGERN AND THE CHRONICLE OF TYSSILIO.

BY THOMAS WAKEMAN, ESQ.

THE absence of the talented author¹ of the papers on these subjects from the Chepstow Congress, prevented my offering any remarks upon them at that time; but these having now appeared in the *Journal*, I may, perhaps, be allowed to submit a few observations through the same medium. First, as to the so-called *Chronicle of Tyssilio*, I would observe that the "*internal evidence*" which Mr. Beale Poste considers sufficient to fix the date of its compilation at about the year 1000, proves nothing more than that it could not have been written before the death of Athelstan, in 940; but it may have been written at any subsequent time between that year and the present one. Several Welsh versions of Geoffrey of Monmouth's history are extant, differing in diction and phraseology, but not varying materially in the general import. Not one of the existing manuscripts are supposed to be older than the fourteenth century, and some are known to be of much later date. Geoffrey's statement that he translated his work from a Welsh original, in the opinion of the best informed Welsh scholars, was sheer pretence, for no such original ever

¹ The rev. Beale Poste. See pp. 226-236 *ante*.



existed. At the end of two of the manuscripts are the following utterly inconsistent entries: in that considered the earliest, it is said,—“*I, Walter, archdeacon of Oxford, turned this book from Cymraeg to Latin, and in my old age retranslated it from Latin to Cymraeg.*” A copy considered somewhat later, says nothing of the original translation from Cymraeg, but only,—“*Walter, archdeacon of Oxford, translated it from Latin to Cymraeg; and I (Geoffrey) turned it back into Latin.*” Which of these worthies is to be believed? If the book was in Welsh originally, what reason could there be for the archdeacon’s double translation, first into Latin, and then into its original language; and if the original was Latin, Geoffrey was at a very unnecessary trouble in retranslating it from the Welsh. Nothing was ever heard of Tyssilio as the author, till a little more than a century ago, and then the name is found appended to one solitary copy—not without very strong suspicions of having been interpolated. The late Edward Williams, better known in the principality by his bardic appellation (“Iolo Morganog”), whose judgment in such matters few will dispute, albeit sufficiently credulous, in anything relating to the antiquities of his native country, had no hesitation in charging Lewis Morris and the rev. P. Roberts with the fraud. He wrote in Welsh, but his observation, translated, is,—“*As for Tyssilio’s history, it never had existence save in the simulation and falsehood of Lewis Morris and his fellow conspirators.*” Mr. Thos. Stephens, the very able author of a work upon the literature of the Cumru, has handled the question with great ability, and arrived at the same conclusion, but acquits Morris and Roberts of the imposition, and thinks they were honest but deceived. Geoffrey himself, in several passages, seems to have forgotten his assumed character as a translator, and calls it “*my history*”. So much then for Tyssilio. But even supposing there had been such a work written about the year 1000, it cannot be received as evidence of any historical fact which is not confirmed by less suspicious testimony.

Now as to the territories of Vortigern, I must demur to the statements, “*that the territories he held from his ancestors seem pretty well ascertained*”; or, “*that they are admitted on all hands to have been the two lordships of Erging and Ewas*”;

the only authority for which is the pseudo *Chronicle of Tyssilio*, and is of no weight whatever. Geoffrey, in his Latin copy, calls him "Consol Gewissiorum"; and it is no very difficult matter to show the probable reason why he gave him this title. The Gewissi were the West Saxons, so called (according to Florence of Worcester) from Gewis the great-grandfather of Cerdic. Geoffrey had before him the genealogy of Vortigern as given by Nennius; according to which, Gloui, one of his ancestors, built the city of Gloucester, which was afterwards in the kingdom of Wessex; and therefore he makes his descendant consul of the Gewissi. The Welsh translator probably knew nothing of the Gewissi, or, if he did, was perhaps aware of the anachronism, and thought it necessary to give him another title. The reason of his giving him that of "lord of Erging and Ewas", in preference to any other, is as apparent as the former. Geoffrey tells us that Vortigern fled to the town of Genoreu,¹ in the country of Erging, upon the river Gania, in the mountain called Cloarius (an evident error of the transcriber for Doarius). There is no difficulty in identifying the spot Geoffrey had in view: it was well known to him, being within three miles of his native town of Monmouth. Genoreu is the parish of Ganerew, in Erging; Gania is the Wye; and the mountain of Doarius, the Doward hill, upon which there is a very strongly fortified British post overhanging the river, which, had our excursions extended to Monmouth, it was proposed to have examined. As it might be inferred that this was the private property of Vortigern, it was only consistent to make him lord of the district in which it is situate; but the only reason Geoffrey had for fixing on this spot as the place of Vortigern's death, seems to have been, that it was in his own neighbourhood, and readily presented itself to his imagination; for it is in direct contradiction to the Welsh traditions, according to which he died in North Wales; and Bedd Gwrtheyrn (*i.e.* the grave of Vortigern) is still shown in the parish of Llanhaelhaiarn in Caernarvonshire.² The

¹ *The town of Genoreu.* One chronicle says the castle of Goronwy. Mr. Beale Poste is mistaken: Goronwy is a personal name, of frequent occurrence in Welsh pedigrees. Here it is most probably an error of the transcriber.

² *Was buried in the parish of Llanhaelhaiarn.* This is inconsistent with the story that Vortigern perished in the flames of his own castle. Nennius, to whom Geoffrey was indebted for this story, admits that others gave a different account of his death.

Welsh verses called *Beddau Milwyr* (the graves of the warriors) are of very great antiquity, and record the places of interment of a great number of British heroes, state that the grave of Vortigern is at *Ystyvachau*, a locality not well determined; but my friend Mr. Stephens suggests that the place meant is *Ystre*, or *Ystrad Machwy*, the Vale of Machwy in Radnorshire,—a district, of which (according to Nennius) his son Pascent was the regulus; and therefore it may be inferred that his father was in some way connected with it; although it by no means follows as a matter of course that he was, the conjecture is probable. From the orthography of his name in Gildas and Nennius, Gurthegirn, Guorthegirn, or Gorthegirn, which seems a compound of the Welsh *gwr* (a man) and the Irish *tighearn* (a king), it has been surmised that he was of Irish extraction. It is certain that about the period when the Roman legions were gradually being withdrawn, North Wales was subdued by the Irish, who ruled the country several years. It is not improbable that his father or mother was of that nation. Gale thought he was of a Pictish family, probably for the same reason.

As to the two districts of Erging and Ewas, they were governed by their own reguli, but subordinate to the princes of Gwent. The names of many of them are preserved in the *Liber Landavensis* and other manuscripts. Erging comprised all the country between the river Wye, the Monnow, and the Dore, and included the town of Monmouth, with some other places in the county. Ewas extended from the Dore to the confines of Breconshire, and also included part of Monmouthshire. The Roman station of Ariconium was not within either of these districts: it is about three miles from Ross, on the left of the road to Gloucester, on the Bollatree farm. Abundance of coins, fibulæ, and pottery, have been found here, and are still continually being turned up by the plough. There can be no doubt of its having been a Roman town of considerable importance, although not the capital of Erging, which was more likely Kington.

I cannot avoid expressing my surprise that the long-exploded notion that Blestium was at Old Castle (not Old Town), should be now revived. All knowledge of the country is opposed to such an idea. In the thirteenth iter

of Antonine, Blestium is stated to be eleven miles from Burrium, admitted to have been at Usk. In Richard, the distance is twelve miles; and both agree that from Blestium to Ariconium the distance was eleven miles. The numerals in the itineraries may, in some instances, have been corrupted; but I must protest against such wholesale changes as would here become necessary if the station be placed at Old Castle, which is not less than sixteen miles from Usk in a direct line, and full twenty-two from Ariconium. But from the nature of the country it would be totally impossible to construct roads between these places without adding very considerably to these distances: moreover, there are not the slightest traces of any such roads having ever existed; neither is there any reason to suppose that there was any Roman station at Old Castle.¹ Blestium was at Monmouth: the road leading to it from Burrium can be traced the whole way, and is known as Y Clawdd (a very common appellation for Roman roads in Wales), and the distance is twelve miles. The road which led from Blestium to Ariconium, is not so easily determined; but by the nearest practicable route the distance is eleven miles. A road may be traced through the woods, on the opposite side of the Wye, for a considerable distance towards Staunton, where it is lost. Another followed the left bank of the Wye, downwards, for about five miles, when it turned up into the forest of Dean, and, I conjecture, led to the nameless station in Lidney park. The pavement on about three miles of this road was perfect a few years ago, but was destroyed in making the new road to Tintern. Vestiges of other Roman roads are still visible in the neighbourhood. With the exception of some pottery and a few coins, no decidedly Roman relics have been discovered at Monmouth of late years; but possibly much may have been found in years gone by, before such things were thought much of, and have been lost. The station was probably a small one, and must, I think, have occupied the

¹ Old Castle, or Castell Hen, is a small parish on the border of Herefordshire, but in Monmouthshire. There are no ancient remains of any kind in the parish. It is difficult to conjecture the origin of the name. About a mile to the south of the church there is, indeed, a sort of double camp, on a spur of the mountain, one part being quadrangular, and the other in the form of a D; but it is not at all a situation where anything Roman would be looked for,—and it is in the hamlet of Bwlch, in Herefordshire, not in Old Castle.

site of the upper part of the present town, where all traces have been obliterated by modern buildings.

In a former paper¹ I suggested the probable derivation of Burrium from the Welsh *bwr* (an intrenchment), adding a Latin termination. Blestium may perhaps be from *Plast*, in composition *blast*, an extended flat, applicable to the level meadows between the two rivers Wye and Monnow, on the rising ground on the north of which the station must have stood.

¹ Page 257 *ante*.

Proceedings of the Association.

NOVEMBER 22.

JOHN LEE, LL.D., F.R.S., F.S.A., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

THE following were elected associates during the summer vacation :

Peter Burke, esq., 2, Churchyard-court, Temple.
 Benjamin E. Spence, esq., Rome.
 George T. Robinson, esq., Burwood-terrace, Leamington.
 Trevor Morris, M.D., Chepstow.
 Thomas Falconer, esq., Usk.
 Henry Hucks Gibbs, esq., 15, Bishopsgate-street.
 Robert Lang, esq., Bristol.
 Rev. Francis Trappes, Chepstow.
 Isaac Redwood, Cae Wern, near Neath.
 Mrs. Bernal, Eaton-square.
 The very rev. the dean of Llandaff, D.D., F.R.S., Llandaff.
 William E. Troye, esq., Chepstow.
 Rev. E. Turberville Williams, M.A., Chepstow.
 John Barnett, esq., Monmouth.
 William Addison Combs, esq., 1, Holland-road, Kensington.

Thanks were voted for the following presents :

From the Society of Antiquaries. Vol. xxxv, Part II, Archæologia. 4to.
 Proceedings of the Society, Nos. 37 to 40. 8vo. List of the
 Fellows for 1854. 8vo.
From the Royal Society. Their Proceedings. Nos. 4 to 6. London,
 1854. 8vo.
From the Lancashire and Cheshire Historic Society. Their Transactions,
 vol. vi. Liverpool, 1853-54. 8vo.
From the Soc. des Antiq. de Picardie. Mémoires de la Soc., tom. iii;
 and Bulletins of the Society. Paris, 1854. 8vo.
From the Smithsonian Institution. Contributions to Knowledge, vol. vi,
 Washington, 1854; 4to. Registry of Atmospherical Phenomena,

8vo. List of Foreign Institutions in connexion with the Smithsonian Institution; 8vo. Report of the Smithsonian Institution, 1854; 8vo.

From the Soc. des Antiq. de Normandie. Mémoires de la Soc. 2nde Série. 10^e vol. Paris, 1854. 4to.

From the Somersetshire Archæological and Natural History Society. Their Transactions from 1849. Four vols. 8vo.

From the Archæological Institute. Their Journal. No. 42. 8vo.

From the Publishers. Miscellanea Graphica (Lord Londesborough's collection). Two Parts. 4to. London, 1854.

———— The Gentleman's Magazine for July, August, Sept., Oct., and Nov. 8vo.

From the Churchwardens. Plan of St. Michael-le-Quern. Folio, 1854.

From John Lee, LL.D., V.P. Records of Buckinghamshire. No. I. Aylesbury, 1854. 8vo.

From Mr. L. Jewitt. Catalogue of the Pictures, Books, etc., contained in the Cottonian Library, presented to the Plymouth Institution. Plymouth. 8vo.

From Richard Caulfield, esq. Sigilla Ecclesiæ Hibernicæ Illustrata. Parts I and II. Dublin, 8vo.

From Mons. A. Charma. Sur les Fouilles pratiquées à Jort. Caen, 1854. 8vo.

The treasurer communicated intelligence of the severe losses the Association had sustained in the deaths of Ralph Bernal, esq., *the president*; Patrick Chalmers, esq., F.S.A.; Francis Watts, esq., F.S.A.; W. E. Brayley, esq., F.S.A.; rev. John Whittaker, D.D.; rev. Leeds Comyn Booth, M.A.,—during the vacation. He stated that a letter of condolence had been directed to be addressed by him from the council to Mrs. Bernal, to which the following answer had been received:

“Eaton-square, Sept. 29, 1854.

“Dear Mr. Pettigrew,—Allow me to express to you and to the council of the British Archæological Association, my very grateful thanks for your and their kind sympathy towards me in my sad bereavement; and, more especially, the great satisfaction it is to me to know that *he* was regarded and regretted by the council of that Association. Permit me, in conclusion, to beg that my name, for the future, may stand in my beloved husband's place as a subscriber annually to the British Archæological Association.

“Believe me, dear Mr. Pettigrew, very truly yours,

“CLARA C. BERNAL.”

Mr. Pettigrew laid before the meeting the comb of boxwood (figured and described in the *Journal*, pp. 285-6 *ante*) found in bishop Godwin's room at Moynes court, at the time of his decease.

Mr. Cecil Brent exhibited a small bronze Roman eagle, dug up in the neighbourhood of Richborough, Kent, in 1819. It was in good preservation.

The rev. Thos. Hugo exhibited a large brass of Hadrian, found during some excavations, in August last, in High-street, Southwark. The *obverse* represented a laureated head of the emperor HADRIANVS AVGVSTVS PP; the *reverse*, Plenty with a cornucopia, HILARITAS PR. COS. III, in the exergue.

Mr. Charles Beauchamp exhibited, through J. R. Planché, esq., Martin Luther's wedding ring. It is made of foreign gold, and appears also to have been gilt. On the inside is engraved the following inscription: "D. MARTINO LUTHERO, CATHERINA BOREU, 13^o Junii 1525", the day of his marriage. The ring forms an entire cross, on which is a figure of the Saviour, over whose head a large ruby is set, serving as a nimbus, and above, on a label, are the letters INRI. Emblems of the crucifixion are continued round the ring. It lately came into the possession of a gentleman by the death of his uncle, at the age of sixty-nine years, who related that it had been in his father's possession as long as he could remember. His ancestors were of a noble family in Wittemberg (the burial-place of Luther).

The following communication was read by its author, H. Syer Cuming, esq.

"ON ASCOI.

"The name *ascos*, in its primitive and more restricted sense, was applied by the Greeks to various sized vessels, formed of the skins of kids, goats, pigs, and oxen. In forming the *ascos* the head and feet of the beast were cut off, and the carcase extracted without opening the belly: the apertures produced by the removal of the feet being carefully sewed up; the neck serving as the mouth of the vessel; which, when filled with water, milk, oil, or wine, was tied round with cords or stopped with a bung. Herodotus (ii. 121) speaks of the wine-skins of the Egyptians being closed with pegs.

"When the *ascos* was of great bulk it was borne upon a low cart; but when of a small size the legs of the animal were secured together, so as to form an overarching handle by which it might be conveniently carried in the hand or swung across a pole. This primitive vessel was in common use among the ancient Hebrews and Egyptians, was familiar to the Romans under the titles of *uter* and *euleus*, and is still employed by the Italians, Spaniards, Hindûs, and Arabs; and wherever the *ascos* has been, or still is in use, we find it imitated in terra-cotta.

"In the tombs of Magna Græcia and Etruria *ascoi* are discovered of various sizes, and presenting considerable diversity of fabric. I am happy to have it in my power to place before you an Etruscan *ascos* of the most archaic age. The body of the vessel is globose, as if the skin

was full of liquid: the neck through which it is filled is trumpet-mouthed, and the short cylindrical spout looks like the little tail of the animal. From beneath the mouth, and at the base of the spout, springs an over-arching handle, which, in the primitive ascos, consisted of the united legs of the beast. This specimen is wrought of light fawn-coloured terra-cotta, and was formerly in the collection of Thomas Blayds, Esq., of Castle Hill, Englefield Green, sold in 1849.

“ Among the early vases from Vulci and Nola, in the British Museum, is an exceedingly rare type of the ascos, having two tubes of exactly the same size and form, set nearly upright on the upper part of the vessel; the mouth of one of the tubes being closed with a perforated strainer; the arched handle springing from the base of each tube. It is made of light-coloured terra-cotta, upon which is delineated a full face, etc., in brown or black outline. In the same case are two ascoi, of a much larger size, having very ample mouths, through which the vessels were both filled and emptied. All three specimens are of what is termed *Tyreno-Phœnician ware*. The museum also possesses a large ascos in the black ware of Cœre.

“ Ascoi of a small size and finer workmanship were occasionally employed by the Greeks for perfumed oils and unguents, and have been discovered in the tombs with articles of the bath and toilet. Several examples of these small ascoi of light unadorned terra-cotta may be seen in Case 72 of the second vase room of the British Museum.

“ Water-jars of fictile ware, nearly similar in form to the ancient ascoi, are still in daily use in southern Europe; more especially in Spain and Portugal, where they are denominated *cantaro* and *bucaro* or *pucaro*.

“ Estremadura, in the province of Alentejo, has been famed for centuries for the manufacture of bucaros. They are wrought of light reddish-coloured clay known by the name of *Barro de Estremoz*.

“ Beckmann, in his *History of Inventions*, (ii. 149, Bohn's Ed.) relates that he had fragments of these Portuguese vessels in his collection; and says, “ they are made of red bole; are not glazed, though they are smooth, and have a faint gloss on the surface like the Etruscan vases.” He adds, that “ they are so little burnt that one can easily break them with the teeth, and the bits readily dissolve to a paste in the mouth. If water be poured into such vessels it penetrates their substance; so that, when in the least stirred, many air-bubbles are produced; and it at length oozes entirely through them. The water that has stood in them acquires a taste which many consider as agreeable; and it is probable that it proceeds from the bark of the fir-tree, with which, as we read, they are burnt. When the vessels are new, they perform their service better; and they must then also have a more pleasant smell.”

“ Through the kindness of the Rev. S. T. Pettigrew, at the meeting previous to the summer recess, we had an opportunity of examining an

elegant example of the ascos which, though not made in Portugal, is nevertheless most probably of Portuguese origin. Mr. Pettigrew informs me that it was brought from Madeira, which island, it will be remembered, was peopled by a colony of Portuguese, sent hither by Prince Henry in 1420. The vessel is fabricated of red earth containing mica, and had originally a glossy surface. The body is somewhat skittle-formed, $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, having on the upper part, on one side, a trumpet-mouthed tube through which it was filled, and opposite it a conical spout; and rising from the crown of the vessel is an over-arching handle. The body is covered with large flowers and leaves, engraved in the clay whilst moist, and it is embellished on the sides with four flat-faced bosses, into which are pressed three or four fragments of quartz. It is certainly an old example of this curious class of water-coolers, and may probably be the handiwork of some of the earliest colonizers of Madeira.

“The ectype of the ancient ascos is also met with in South America; but, as the form does not occur among the aboriginal pottery of either Peru or Mexico, we are led to infer that it owes its introduction into the New World to the Spanish and Portuguese colonists; for it is observed more frequently in Brazil than in any other part of the transatlantic continent, where it is said to be called *moringa*.

“I beg to place before you an example of the Brazilian ascos, which, in general form, bears a close resemblance to Mr. Pettigrew’s specimen from Madeira. It is, however, of a much larger size, the body somewhat more globose; the neck and conic spout being united by the broad over-arching handle. The material is red earth with a smooth glossy surface. This water-jar was purchased in 1840 at the sale of the museum of P. C. Blackett, Esq., of Green-street, Grosvenor-square. Similar examples are in the museum of the United Service Institution.

“Beckmann notes the resemblance between the Portuguese water-jars and those in use in India, but this resemblance is perfectly natural, both being derived from the ascoi of skin. Those who visited the Great Exhibition of 1851 may, perchance, remember seeing two or three specimens in the Java collection, under the denomination of ‘*water-coolers*.’ They were very neatly wrought of light reddish-coloured earth, with globose bodies and short spouts and necks: the arched handle springing from the edge of each orifice.

“Marryat, in his “*History of Pottery and Porcelain*,” p. 227, gives a figure of an Egyptian *bardach*, or water-cooler, in the British Museum, which resembles the ancient ascos in general form, but differs somewhat in detail. The handle, instead of springing from the orifices, rises from the apex of the vessel, and the spout is spherical and slightly elongated to form the aperture.

“Strange and unaccountable as it may appear, a trace of the ancient ascos is met with among the savages of the Feejee Islands, the only group



in the Pacific Ocean where aboriginal pottery is found. I exhibit an exceedingly rare, if not an unique, example of the Feejeean ascos. It is of a globose form, wrought of brick-red terra-cotta, and covered with a thick coat of the gum-resin of the *Dammara pine*. It represents the distended skin of some quadruped, with truncated legs; the neck forming the spout, and the anus the orifice through which the vessel is filled; the short tail, however, being retained to render the semblance as perfect as possible. The upper surface has twenty-three long projecting ridges to represent the wrinkling of the skin, and between each ridge is a line of diagonal notches by way of decoration. This remarkable specimen is from the valuable collection of the late C. A. Tulk, Esq., sold in 1849.

“ It needs but little thought to convince us that the great majority of vessels owe their origin to natural objects, that they are in fact mere copies of the very articles which were primarily employed for holding different substances. The ligneous capsules of several trees and plants have been used and imitated in earth and metal as drinking-cups. The pericarps of various *cucurbitaceæ* have given the contour to some of our most elegant bottles, jars, and vases. The divided gourd and the calvarium of the human skull were among the earliest bowls possessed by man, and their forms are continued down to the present hour. To the ostrich egg and cocoa-nut cups of former days may be traced the figure of the olden goblets; and the *rhyton* of the Greeks and the tumbler of the English are equally deducible from the festive horn of hoary antiquity. But, among the host of ectypes, none are more unexpected, more singular or more curious than the ascos we have been considering.”

The remainder of the evening was occupied by the reading of a paper by Gilbert J. French, esq., of Bolton, which had, at the desire of the author, been revised and augmented by the treasurer. (See pp. 332-362 *ante*.)

EXTRAORDINARY GENERAL MEETING.

DECEMBER 6.

WILLIAM WANSEY, esq., F.S.A., succeeded by F. H. DAVIS, esq.,
F.S.A., V.P., in the chair.

THIS meeting was summoned in accordance with the rules of the Association, upon the receipt of the following requisition, as read by J. R. Planché, esq., hon. sec.

"To the Secretaries of the British Archæological Association.

"We, whose names are hereunto subscribed, request that, in accordance with the laws of the Association, you will summon an EXTRAORDINARY GENERAL MEETING, to take into consideration several matters of importance to the welfare of the Association.

(Signed)

"T. J. Pettigrew, V.P. and
treasurer
Nathaniel Gould, F.S.A.
J. G. Patrick
Thos. Gunston
W. W. King
E. M. Gibbs
Alfred Thompson
William Newton
Thos. Sherratt, jun.
H. Syer Cuming
F. H. Davis, F.S.A., V.P.
H. C. Pidgeon
Cecil Brent
John Turner
S. T. Pettigrew, M.A.

G. N. Wright
W. Henry Dillon, K.C.H.
J. C. White
George Vere Irving
W. Henry Black
W. V. Pettigrew, M.D.
Arthur C. Tupper
W. Calder Marshall, R.A.
Thomas Wakeman
Frederick Vallé
George Cruikshank
A. F. Pettigrew, M.A.
J. O. Halliwell, F.R.S.,
F.S.A.
B. Albano
Charles Bischoff."

"Saville-row, Nov. 23, 1854."

W. Wansey, esq., F.S.A., was requested by the meeting to take the chair until the arrival of a vice-president, Mr. Pettigrew declining to preside.

The requisition having been read, some technical objections were made on the part of Mr. Charles Baily and Mr. Ll. Jewitt; but it was ultimately

unanimously resolved to proceed to the business of the meeting. Seventy-four associates were present, subscribing their names on their arrival.¹

Mr. Pettigrew addressed the associates, stating the circumstances which, in the opinion of himself and the other requisitionists, had led to the necessity of the meeting, and called upon Mr. Planché to read the report of the committee on the correspondence respecting the Caerwent excavations, including communications from Dr. Trevor Morris and Mr. Wakeman, by which it appeared that the labours of that committee had been interrupted in consequence of certain letters written by the rev. T. Hugo to the rev. Freke Lewis and Mr. Octavius Morgan, and the interest and honour of the Association thereby seriously affected. Mr. W. H. Black then moved, and Mr. Nathaniel Gould seconded, the following resolution :

“That this meeting, having considered the statements and documents laid before it, is of opinion that the rev. Thos. Hugo, by bringing forward unfounded accusations against the treasurer, and by subsequently writing letters which, whether public or private, were calculated to injure the interests and impede the action of the Association, by subverting the authority of the council and rendering nugatory the proceedings of its committee, has shown a want of temper and discretion which unfits him for the office of secretary of the Association ; and therefore this meeting is under the necessity of removing Mr. Hugo from that office, and abolishing the third secretaryship.”

Mr. Hugo was then called upon for his reply, and addressed the meeting at great length. Other members having addressed the meeting upon the proposed resolution, the following was moved as an amendment by Mr. W. Newton, and seconded by Mr. G. R. Corner :

“That a special committee, to consist of five members (not on the council), be appointed to inquire into the circumstances which have given occasion for this meeting, and to recommend a plan for the future management of the business of the society ; and that the rule requiring the officers to be members of all committees, be suspended.”

After much discussion, the foregoing amendment was put to the meeting by F. H. Davis, esq., V.P., when there appeared,—“Ayes”, 22 ; “Noes”, 35 ; majority against the amendment, 13 ; many members not voting upon this question.

The original resolution was then put and carried, *nem. con.*²

Mr. Black then moved, and Mr. Wansey seconded, the following resolution :

“That the zealous and most efficient services of Mr. Pettigrew as the

¹ There were others who omitted to do this, and the number therefore approached near eighty.

² Not by 35 to 22, as erroneously stated by Mr. Hugo in his printed letter to the *Literary Gazette*, that being the division on the amendment.

treasurer and senior vice-president, which have been repeatedly acknowledged by this Association, still entitle him to the warmest thanks of all its members; and that this meeting, deeply regretting the unfounded charges by which he has been assailed, doth hereby tender to Mr. Pettigrew the most earnest pledge of sincere confidence and attachment, by requesting him to accept the office of PRESIDENT of this Association (now vacant through the lamented death of Ralph Bernal, esq.) for the remainder of the official year."

This resolution was also carried, *nem. con.*

Mr. Pettigrew returned his warmest thanks to the Association for their expressions of attachment and the flattering appreciation of his services, which he was still anxious to render to the society in the capacity in which he was at the present time connected with their body. He begged, however, most respectfully to decline the high honour that had been proposed to him by the society, not only on this occasion, but on others, as expressed by their late presidents, Mr. Bernal and Mr. Heywood, Dr. Lee, and others.

The best thanks of the meeting were then voted to F. H. Davis, esq., V.P., for his impartial and attentive consideration to the business of the meeting, which was acknowledged by the chairman; and at a late hour the meeting was dissolved.

NOTE BY THE COUNCIL.

The council has refrained from troubling the members with a circular in reply to those issued under the names of Messrs. Hugo and Baily, or to the letters of the former to the editor of the *Literary Gazette*, reprinted, with additions, in one of those documents. The charges therein contained against the treasurer were declared to be "unsubstantiated" in a special council summoned for their consideration, October 11, 1854, by votes of 11 to 1, Mr. Pettigrew and Mr. Hugo not voting; and that resolution was confirmed at the following ordinary meeting of the council, October 18th, in the presence of Mr. Hugo and his supporters. The revival of those charges, therefore, at the Extraordinary General Meeting, December 6th, was merely to divert attention from the real cause of the requisition, viz. the rev. Thos. Hugo's unauthorized letters to two gentlemen in Monmouthshire, whom he and his supporters repeatedly asserted were his *private friends*, but of whom, it was proved, he had no personal knowledge whatever.

The result of that general meeting was the ejection of Mr. Hugo from the office of secretary, *nem. con.*: his own party declining to vote, as they

had found that, even on Mr. Newton's well-intentioned amendment, they could only get twenty-two friends to support it in a meeting of upwards of seventy-four members.

The council will not be drawn into any controversy on this subject, and confidently trusts to the increased exertions which will be made to keep up the high character of the *Journal*, and the interest of the evening meetings, for the cordial support of the members of the British Archæological Association.

DECEMBER 13.

S. R. SOLLY, ESQ., F.R.S., F.S.A., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

E. W. Ashbee, esq., of 22, Bedford-street, Covent Garden, was elected an associate.

Thanks were given for the following presents :

From the Archæological Institute. Their Journal for September. 8vo.

From Mr. J. G. Nichols. The Gentleman's Magazine for December. 8vo.

From Mr. Ridgway. A Pamphlet on the Decimal Coinage. 8vo.

F. H. Davis, esq., F.S.A., V.P., exhibited a beautiful alabaster figure of Thalia, measuring fifteen inches in height, which had formerly belonged to the earl of Elgin. The execution of the figure, as well as the material of which it is composed, gave rise to doubts as to its assignment to the age of Greek sculpture. Mr. W. Calder Marshall, R.A., did not consider it Greek.

Mr. E. M. Gibbs exhibited a curious candlestick, of classic design, but of doubtful antiquity. It was referred to be compared, with other objects, at a future meeting.

Mr. Thomas Gunston exhibited a circular plate of delft-ware, $9\frac{3}{4}$ inches diameter. On it is painted a large figure, in the costume of the close of the reign of Elizabeth. It represents a combatant armed with a sword and dagger, the hilt of the latter being provided with a lateral ring. On his head is a plumed bonnet; he wears a blue "peascod-bellied" doublet, with his brownish-orange breeches well "bombasted" or stuffed out, and decorated with long slashes showing the white linings. The yellow hose are confined with large blue garters, and the shoes are black. The whole is a highly interesting representation of the dress of the period, and well illustrates a passage in Porter's comedy of the *Two Angry Women of Abington*, 1599, where Coomes, one of the characters, exclaims, in a strain of regret: "I see by this dearth of good swords that dearth of swoord and buckler fight begins to grow out: I am sorrie for it; I shall never see good manhood againe, if it be once gone; *this poking fight of rapier and*

dagger will come up then ; then a man, a tall man, and a good sword and buckler man will be spitted like a cat or a conney.”¹

Mr. James Clarke of Easton, Suffolk, announced the discovery of some Roman coins, together with a large flint arrow-head, found in a brick-kiln field at that place,—the coins were unfortunately crushed by the plough. Also a fine example of a rial, or rose-noble, of Edward IV, found near Halesworth. It is in Mr. Clarke’s possession, and weighs 120 grains : the mint mark is a coronet on both sides. Mr. Clarke promises an account of these, and some others lately obtained, at a future time.

Mr. W. W. King exhibited some rubbings from interesting brasses :

“ Circa 1360. *A lady, at Great Berkhamstead.* A loose super-tunic, without any buttons, is the only outer garment. Upon the head is a kerchief, which partly covers a reticulated head-dress : the folds of the sleeves are curiously marked. This brass lies in the chancel.

“ 1361. *Walter de Annefordhe, All Saints, Binfield, Berks.* A small demi-figure with stunted beard ; the apparels of the amice and alb are ornamented with quatrefoils.

“ ‘ Walter de Annefordhe gist icy
dieu de sa alme eit mercy.’

“ C. 1370. *A priest, Great Berkhamstead, Herts.* A demi-figure, in chasuble, wearing an amice round his neck. The inscription is lost. This brass lies in the chancel.

“ 1409. *Edmund Cook, Great Berkhamstead, Herts.* A small figure of a civilian habited in a hood, long loose gown with ornamented belt at the waist, from which depends an aulare ; the sleeves and collar of a tight under garment are also visible. From his mouth proceeds a scroll inscribed, ‘ Ihū fili dei miserere mei.’ Beneath the figure is this inscription :

. . . Cook qui obiit xx°
. . . m̄ m° cccc° nono.

A shield below is lost. This figure is also in the south chapel.

“ 1424. *Robert Willardsey, S. Nicholas, Warwick.* A small and well executed figure of a priest in amice, alb, stole, maniple (all ornamented with quatrefoils), and chasuble. ‘ Hic iacet Rob’tus Willardsey prini’ vicari’ isti ecclie qui obiit xiii° die mens’ marcii anno millo cccexxiii° cui’ aie ppciatur deus aīe.’

“ 1443. *Thomas Berwyk, S. Mary Magdalene, East Hampstead, Berks.* A small demi-figure of a civilian, in gown secured by a girdle buckled at the waist, with full sleeves close at the wrists. ‘ Orate pro aīa Thome Berwyk nup in societate M. J. Fowler de Capella regis H. Vi^{ti} qui obiit in vigilia Scī Andrei anno Xri millō cccc° xliii° cui aie ppciatur de amen.’ This brass lies in the chancel.

¹ Printed by the Percy Society, 1841, p. 61.

"1485. *Richard Westbrooke, Great Berkhamstead.* A figure habited in long gown with loose sleeves; the gown, which is opened on the breast, shows a lining of fur, and beneath that an ornamented under-garment: the gown is confined round the waist by a cord. His shoes are broad-pointed.

" 'Hic jacet Ricardus Westbrooke qui obiit v.

Septebriis a° dni millmo cccc°lxxxv° cui....

Supplicaris vobis ex caritate vr̃a pãa s....'

The brass lies in the north chapel.

"1521. *Kateryne Incent, Great Berkhamstead.* A figure in a shroud, with the following inscription: 'Here lyeth buried und' thys stone, the bodye of Kateryne Incent, sumtyme the wyf of Robert Incent, gent', father and mother unto John Incent, docto' of y^e lawe, who hath done many benefyt and ornament gyven unto thys chapell of Saynt John; which sayd Kateryne dyed the xi day of Marche ye xii yere of the reygne of king Henry the VIII.' The petition for mercy is crased. Brass lies in chapel before mentioned.

"1528. *Robert Sutton, S. Patrick's cathedral, Dublin.* A priest wearing a skull-cap, and vested in cassock, surplice, and almuce. From his hands proceeds a scroll inscribed, 'In te d'ne speravi nō cōfūdār ieternum', addressed to an emblem of the Holy Trinity (covered by a veil) on an altar. The veil has on it the monogram R.S., entwined by a cord or 'true lover's-knot', which occurs twice besides on the brass.¹ The background is ornamented with twenty stars of six points; a shield in the right hand corner of the brass bears a lion rampant. 'Orate pro anima magistri Roberti Sutton, hui' ecclesie cathedralis non immerito decani, qui hui' nostre mortalitatis diem clausit extremū an° dominice icarnacionis millesimo quingentesimo xxviii° ac mensis Aprilis die primo et sepultus est sub hoc magno marmoreo lapide coram d..... patricii ymagine in secundo gradu a summo altari situato Cuius anime propicietur deus Amen'.

"1537. *Geoffrey Fyche, S. Patrick's cathedral, Dublin.* A priest vested in cassock, surplice, and almuce; kneeling with his face towards an altar, and a lectern or desk, with an open book before him. Above the altar is a reredos bearing a representation of the Dead Christ, with figures of the Blessed Virgin, Joseph of Arimathea, and four others. The upper part of the cross is visible, and has the letters I. N. R. I. on it. From the priest's hands proceed two scrolls, inscribed 'Miserere michi pie rex d'ne Ihu Xre.' From the wall of the chapel in which the priest kneels is a shield charged with an oak-tree eradicated, with three birds in the foliage, and on the trunk is suspended a "true lovers' knot", interlacing the letters G. F.

'Orati pro aīa Magistri Galfridi Fyche huius Ecclesie Cathedralis de-

¹ For remarks on this device, see *Journal*, vol. iv, p. 389.

cani qui huius mortalitatis diem clausit extremum. Anno d'nice incarnationis millesimo cccccxxx^o septimo et mensis Aprilis die octavo et sepultus est in hac tumba cuius anime propicietur deus amen.'

The brasses to Dean Sutton and Dean Fyche are the only ones hitherto noticed in Ireland. They are both engraved in Mason's History of St. Patrick's cathedral.

Mrs. Prest exhibited through Mr. Pettigrew, V.P., a silver box, which had been in the possession of her family for a long period. On the lid was engraved a portrait of Edward VI, crowned and surmounted by martial emblems. Beneath the portrait is the following :

Edward y^o Sixth of the Right Line.

Th's puts an end to Edw'rd's coin.

H. P. 1596.

It was suggested that the box may have been made of the coinage of Edward VI, from the construction of the last line of the inscription.

Sir Fortunatus Dwaris, V.P., exhibited some interesting coins belonging to colonel Watkyns, M.P., lately found near Brecon.

CAESAR. AVGVSTVS. Bare head of Augustus. *Rev.* SIGNIS RECEPTIS S. P. Q. R. A buckler between two standards.

Numerous as are the coins of Augustus, this reverse appears to be one of such rarity as not to have been recorded in Mr. Akerman's excellent catalogue of Roman coins. It was struck on the recovery of the Legions of Varus. IMP. CAESAR. VESPASIANVS. *Rev.* PON. MAX. TR. P. COS. V. A caduceus.

IMP. C. P. LIG. VALERIANVS. Avg.? *Rev.* VICTORIA. AVGG. (Augustorum) Victory with shield and palm.

Eustace Gray, Esq., of Winston, forwarded drawings of an interesting font in Winston church, near Darlington, on which was represented a combat between two dragons, each of which is furnished with a fish's tail, having an acorn at each end. It was referred for future consideration.

Mr. Charles Dew communicated intelligence of the discovery of a stone coffin by some draining men in a field between Caerwent and the cross roads, marked on the ordnance map as "Five Lanes."

Mr. Wakeman also forwarded a notice of this discovery in the following communication :

"A very curious discovery has been made about half a mile west of Caerwent. In cutting drains the workmen opened a grave, what we call a *cist*, the sides and end formed of flag stones on edge; within this was a stone coffin containing the bones of a tall man. The labourers had rifled the coffin before the proprietor was aware of it, and, from circumstances, there is strong reason to suppose they found some rings or fibulae among the remains; which, however, is denied, and they have not yet been recovered. The most extraordinary part of the affair is, that the space, about four or five inches between the coffin and sides of the grave,

was filled with small coal! The spot is nearly twenty miles from the nearest coal mines, and, at any time in which we can suppose the interment to have been made, it must have been a very expensive article. As late as a century ago very little coal was consumed in this district. I have not seen the coffin, but Mr. O. Morgan considers it Roman."

Mr. O. Morgan has, since the receipt of this notice, given an account of the discovery at a meeting of the Archæological Institute, by which it appears that it is his intention to make careful investigation of the locality. The subject will, therefore, not be pursued further by the Association. The following is from the report of Mr. Morgan, as given in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for this month. (p. 63.) "This sepulchre, which presents certain peculiarities of a novel character, consisted of an oblong outer chamber, about 10 feet in length by 3 feet 6 inches in breadth, formed of large thin slabs, neatly squared. Within this receptacle was a large stone coffin, formed of a single block of the sandstone of the district; the space between this cist and the external inclosure being filled closely with small coal, unburnt, rammed closely into the cavity. A large slab, without inscription, covered the coffin, and this lay at a depth of about four feet. Within this receptacle was placed a second coffin of lead, fitting closely, and the lid formed of a plate of lead which had been laid upon four iron bars placed across the cavity for the purpose of supporting it. The coffin, when opened, was full of clear water, in which lay a human skeleton, apparently of a man in the prime of life. No weapon or ornaments, as the workmen asserted, were found in the coffin."

The remainder of the evening was fully occupied by the reading of a paper by George Vere Irving, Esq., "On the Geography of the Wars of the Saxons in Northumberland with the Northern Britons, from the Battle of Menao to that of Kaltraez," which will be printed in the next volume of the *Journal*.

The Association then adjourned over for the Christmas, to Wednesday, January 24th, 1855.

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British Archaeological Association.

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1854.

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Sec. For. Corr., 18 Tavistock-street, Bedford-square
Miss Emily Beaumont, Gloucester-terrace, Hyde-park
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LETTER

TO THE

Members of the British Archaeological
Association,

ON

THE CONDUCT

OF THE REV. THOMAS HUGO, F.S.A.,

LATE ONE OF THE HONORARY SECRETARIES
OF THE ASSOCIATION.

BY

THOS. JOSEPH PETTIGREW, F.R.S., F.S.A.,

VICE-PRESIDENT AND TREASURER.

" Quid de me alii loquantur, ipsi videant; sed loquentur tamen."—CICERO.

LONDON :

M.DCCC.IV.



TO THE
MEMBERS OF THE BRITISH ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION.

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,—

Fully satisfied with the decision arrived at, and the expressions manifested by, the EXTRAORDINARY GENERAL MEETING, held on the 6th of December 1854, it was not my intention to have committed a single line to the press upon the subject of the dissensions which have of late prevailed in the councils of the British Archæological Association. That the Rev. THOMAS HUGO should be, at a meeting of nearly eighty associates, EJECTED from his office, appeared to me sufficient punishment for his most improper conduct ; and I had no desire vindictively to pursue him, or to give publicity to the execution of a measure which cannot but reflect disgrace upon him, but one which, in regard to the interests of the Society, had become absolutely necessary by his own wilfulness and disturbance of the business of the Association. To those who were present at the meeting, a list of whose names, written by themselves, has been placed before the Council, it is unnecessary to address a single word ; but as a portion of the press, and particularly the provincial, has been, by individual interest, enlisted to state circumstances, and disseminate opinions at variance with the real case ; and as some think because extravagant statements are passed by, and allowed to remain unanswered, that they are therefore incapable of being replied to, and must possess some real foundation, I am, however reluctantly, impelled to address the members of the Society at large.

From my late severe loss and interruption of domestic happiness, I feel totally unfitted to encounter the anxieties of controversy, and I cannot but remark that a most cruel and ungenerous advantage has been taken, by Mr. Hugo and his party, of this circumstance to attack me at the present time. Notwithstanding the circulation of a partial, defamatory, prejudiced, and erroneous statement, and the sustaining of a total defeat at the public meeting of the Society, endeavours are now being made to attempt to destroy the Association altogether. It is represented as being “upon its last legs”; nay, absolutely declared “defunct”. A proverbial expression employed in the *Literary Gazette*, and in the *Bedford Times* of the same day, “When things come to the worst they begin to mend”, and other expressions, show the identity of authorship of these attacks, and render it imperative on my part, and in self-defence, to communicate some particulars to the members (not the newspapers), which may enable them to draw their own conclusions on the subject. This I now do once and for all; for I shall not engage in any paper warfare with those who have displayed such inordinate ingratitude, so wilfully perverted the truth, and so unblushingly put forth that which is totally untrue.

It is known to the members that in August last a Congress was held at Chepstow; and it is also known that, disappointed in obtaining a President from the locality, of sufficient eminence and popularity to give *éclat* to the meeting,—and owing to the uncertain state of health of Mr. Bernal (the President), and the calamity by which I was overtaken,—a Committee appointed to manage all matters connected with the Congress, did, with the President attending, unanimously come to a resolution to put off the meeting for the year altogether, as a compliment due to myself, and in consideration of the importance they were then pleased to attach to my presence and my exertions. When this was communicated to me, I felt averse that any private or personal considerations should operate thus, as I conceived, disadvantageously to the Society, and in contravention of one of its fundamental rules; and upon consultation with my excellent friend, Mr. Planché, the senior Honorary Secretary, and my family, I accordingly resolved to do a great violence to my own feelings, and attend the Congress. Mr. Planché most kindly placed his services at my entire disposal, and we immediately,

with the aid of Dr. Morris (who gave us his valuable assistance as local Secretary) set about the arrangements, applied for and obtained a goodly list of vice-presidents, among gentlemen of the district, constituted a committee, and collected papers to do, as far as time would permit, justice to the antiquities of the locality we intended to visit. The Chepstow Congress has been represented as a failure. That is untrue. It was neither a failure in matters of investigation—in papers resulting from the several examinations—in the obtaining of new associates—nor in a pecuniary point of view, though an artful statement of a portion of the expenses and receipts has been put forth by Mr. Hugo to lead to this inference. The last number of the *Journal*, consisting of 118 pages, is entirely occupied with the proceedings of the Congress: the number to be published on the 31st of this month contains a continuation of these; and the ensuing Spring number will supply still further details and information. The chief glory, however, which would have resulted from the Chepstow Congress, has been frustrated entirely by the conduct of Mr. Hugo; and it cannot but be remarked, that he and his party are solicitously careful to make the most slight allusion to that ground, for there his dispute lies with the Council, not with me personally; and it is for this portion of his conduct, though in connexion with the personal abuse directed against myself, that he has been expelled from his office of Honorary Secretary.

The subject to which I allude, is the proposal to make excavations at Caerwent. Caerwent is known to have been a Roman station of great importance, and there antiquities abound. It is not possible to plant a spade a foot in the ground without meeting with them. Sir Fortunatus Dwarrris, acting as President, Mr. Solly, a Vice-President, and myself, were left by Mr. Hugo and his friends Mr. White and Mr. Whichcord (three of the prominent members in the dissensions) to attend the members and visitors to this place. Arriving at the spot, we speedily perceived a portion of tile, which I was satisfied was Roman; and upon applying a spade and pickaxe, in less than five minutes brought out a flue-tile; and thus displayed an entrance to some building, the particular examination of which promised interesting results. It was urged on the spot that application should be made to the proprietor of the ground for permission to exca-

vate, and that a subscription should be entered into to defray the expenses attending it. This was directly agreed to, and contributions offered. It remained to carry this out. Application was to be made by Dr. Morris to the proprietor, the Rev. Freke Lewis, and to those gentlemen of the neighbourhood likely to be interested in such an undertaking, to form themselves into a committee to superintend the work. To effect this I wrote to several, and was fortunate in obtaining some gentlemen of influence in the locality, who felt how important it might prove towards the illustration of the history of the antiquities of the county. At the head of this list stands the highly respected name of the Dean of Llandaff, who attended the Congress, and received us with such distinguished and gratifying hospitality at the deanery; also those of Mr. Bathurst of Lidney, the Rev. Mr. Steel of Caerwent, the Rev. Mr. Gabriel of Chepstow, the Rev. Edward Trappes, and many others. The Rev. Mr. Lewis, the proprietor, gave to the Association, through Dr. Morris, on the 9th of September, his unqualified sanction to the excavations. When, however, this permission came to the knowledge of Mr. Octavius Morgan, that gentleman declared it an intrusion on the part of the Association, denounced the proceeding, and all connected with it, in no measured terms, and stated that it had long been contemplated by the Caerleon Society. His powerful interest and intimacy with Mr. Lewis were immediately exerted to defeat the purpose. Mr. J. E. Lee, the Secretary of the Caerleon Society, whose labours in this department of archæology are so well known and so correctly appreciated, was one of the first persons to whom I applied to join us in the work; and to my application I received the following letter:

“The Priory, Caerleon, 18 Sept. 1854.

“My dear Sir,—I hardly know how to reply to your letter of Saturday, for the fact is, our Society has long had it in contemplation to work up Caerwent, and we were thinking of it this very summer; and I have letters by me from our President and other members discussing the scheme.

“I have thought it best to show your note to our President, Mr. Octavius Morgan. He feels more strongly than I do that Caerwent should be worked up by our Monmouthshire Society.

In this I quite agree with him, to a certain extent, and shall be very sorry if it is done otherwise ; but, at the same time, my own private opinion is, that we have no right to dictate, and if you have got leave to excavate, we are too late in the field.

“ Under these circumstances, therefore, pray do not insert my name ; but, on the other hand, do not think I have any bad feeling,—except, perhaps, a little annoyance, which you must allow is natural.

“ I remain, my dear Sir, yours truly,

“ JOHN EDWARD LEE.”

“ T. J. Pettigrew, Esq.”

Mr. Wakeman, an active member of the Caerleon Society, was with us when the desire to excavate was expressed, offered liberally to subscribe towards the work, and was in entire ignorance of any intention on the part of the Caerleon Society in relation to the subject. When, however, I received Mr. Lee's letter, I immediately wrote to Mr. Morgan to express my regret that we should be considered as interlopers ; and to show that no desire was entertained on my part to engross the whole matter to the Association, I offered to make a proposition (not to make regulations and concessions, as stated in Mr. Hugo's paper) to the Council at its next meeting,—which I therein stated would be on the 27th September,—to unite with the Caerleon Society in the work. This, however, was not accepted. Various letters, amounting to thirty in number, connected with this subject, were laid by me before the Council, at which *Mr. Hugo was present* ; and these letters were then judiciously referred by the Council to a committee, consisting of Mr. Planché, Mr. Vere Irving, and Mr. White, to examine and report upon to the next Council, with a view, if possible, of reconciling Mr. Morgan and his Monmouthshire friends. It will scarcely be credited, but it is nevertheless true, that Mr. Hugo, cognizant of all this, quitted the meeting of Council to write to the Rev. F. Lewis, the proprietor, and to Mr. Morgan, the President of the Caerleon Society, to release the former from the promise he had made to Dr. Morris, and to assure the latter that the Council repudiated the proceedings of the Treasurer, and that no intention to excavate at Caerwent was entertained by the Council.

These letters (copies of which Mr. Hugo declined to produce to the Council) were, it must be remembered, directed to gentlemen not members of the Association ; they contained also great personal abuse of myself,—charges of usurping and interfering with the duties of others, of absorbing all correspondence, etc. ; and these allegations were conveyed in such terms that they were not thought fit to be communicated to me. When this conduct of Mr. Hugo came to my knowledge, through Mr. Wakeman, Dr. Morris, and others, I reported it to the Council, who were justly indignant at such a proceeding on the part of an officer of the Society. The subject was endeavoured to be evaded, and *Mr. Hugo distinctly declared that he had not written officially, but merely to PRIVATE FRIENDS* ; whereas it has been shown to the Council and to the public meeting, that the Rev. F. Lewis had never seen Mr. Hugo, and Mr. Hugo has since printed that he did NOT know him PERSONALLY ; and Mr. Morgan declared to Mr. Wakeman that he had “ *never seen him in his life, nor ever had any previous correspondence with him* ” ; and that they *considered the letters as official, coming from one who was a Secretary of the Association*. What credence can henceforth be given to any assertion on the part of Mr. Hugo ? In any individual, but more particularly in a Christian clergyman, such conduct is disgusting, and merits the severest condemnation. It was for this most unjustifiable conduct—this usurpation of power in direct opposition to the Council—that Mr. Hugo was expelled from his office ; and I ask any individual capable of distinguishing between right and wrong, whether the Society was not justified in the punishment with which they have visited him ? Many members of the Council declared that they could no longer co-operate with Mr. Hugo : Mr. Planché, Mr. Vere Irving, and Mr. Gould, distinctly expressed this to him at the Council ; several other members did the same ; and the Council being thus distracted and broken up, I felt that it was necessary to summon the Society at large, who elect the executive body, and take their decision upon the subject.

The business thus detailed, relating to Caerwent, took place subsequently to some proceedings personally offensive to myself, and to which, as the first steps in these disagreeable proceedings, it is now necessary to allude. Having gone through the busi-

ness of the Chepstow Congress, I retired for a time to obtain repose and recruit my health. The Congress terminated on the 26th of August, and the plan secretly concocted by the 'several' Members (vide printed paper by Mr. Hugo), was immediately to be brought into operation. I received a note from Mr. Hugo desiring me to summon a Council,—rather an unusual demand on the part of a Secretary, and the junior one too—one indeed placed on as a supernumerary only at my request, with the hope that he would do his duty, and in some measure supply the place of Mr. Planché, who was about to retire to the country. This meeting of Council, too, was to be held, of all periods of the year, at the commencement of September, when not a single Vice-President was in town, and, to my knowledge, half the Members of Council, at least, absent from London. I therefore assigned my reasons for delaying the meeting, and they have been printed by Mr. Hugo. They have been regarded as cogent and satisfactory. Mr. Hugo, however, followed up his application by stating the objects which, in *his* opinion, rendered it peculiarly desirable, and kindly intimated to me the practice usually adopted. But Mr. Hugo is neither so well, nor has he been so long acquainted with the practice of the Association as myself; and upon referring to the Council Books I find that, varying according to the time of the year at which the Congresses have been held, the period between their termination and the holding of a Council has been from about a fortnight to twenty-nine days. The Congress at Chepstow terminated on the 26th of August, and the Meeting of Council was held on the 27th of September. For a Meeting of Council on this day two distinct summonses were issued, one by Mr. Hugo, the other by myself. Mine, *the usual summons*, with the names of the Secretaries appended and printed, was posted on the same evening, about one hour prior to my receiving that of Mr. Hugo, which was also signed by his colleague Mr. Charles Baily. This meeting was directed to be holden at Mr. Whichcord's offices, Poet's Corner, and upon the same day and the same hour, which, however, is not extraordinary, as Wednesday is the usual day for holding Councils, and half-past four the hour at which the Members assemble. That any individual whatever should undertake to change the place of Meeting of

the Council without the sanction of that body is, I believe, unparalleled in the history of any Society. It will not therefore astonish any one, that having for a period of eleven years, from which time the Association dates its existence, given to it the use of my house for the Council Meetings, and that not a single Meeting had ever been held anywhere else, I should feel the proceeding to be extraordinary; and that receiving no intimation of such an intention, should conceive I had been treated with disrespect. I communicated this feeling to Mr. Hugo in the letter he has printed, and this produced his offensive reply, and opened out the system which at Chepstow had been agreed upon to be pursued. Determined not to have any personal altercation with Mr. Hugo, I at once closed all correspondence with him, protested against the Poet's Corner Meeting, persisted in attending the one summoned for Saville Row—summoned according to the usual manner, at the usual place, and where alone the Books of the Society and the Minutes of the previous Meetings could be obtained; but to no purpose: Mr. Hugo held his Meeting, with Mr. Baily, Mr. Whichcord, Mr. White, and, I presume, the other gentlemen whose names have been appended to the renowned requisition of which I have presently to speak—at least it is to be inferred that they attended, although we have never had any Minutes of the Meeting presented; and Mr. Hugo, Mr. Baily, Mr. White, and Mr. Whichcord were present at the Meeting of Council on the 18th of October, when the Minutes of the Council of the 27th of September, at Saville Row, were confirmed, and their confirmation was unopposed by those Members.

But as it was impossible that the business of the Society could be conducted by two Sections of the Council, the Members present at Saville Row, after doing the regular and necessary business, agreed upon a Requisition to call a Special Council for the 11th of October, to receive the letters addressed to me by the Rev. Mr. Hugo, so that he might tender any explanation he had to offer.

Now it is necessary here to refer to the proceedings connected with the calling of the Meeting at Poet's Corner. It was not put forth as being in accordance with a Requisition which ought in the summonses to have been stated, and it

appeared in the course of the discussion at the Public Meeting on the 6th of December, that the Secretaries, Mr. Hugo and Mr. Baily, got up and signed this Requisition to themselves ! Mr. Duesbury, whose name stands sixth on the list, declaring that he had not signed it until two days after he had received the summonses for both Meetings ! Mr. Ellis's name follows that of Mr. Duesbury, so that the Requisition was altogether irregular, and contrary to the Laws, which require the signatures of Five Members of the Council, directed to the Secretaries ; and it was carried out in the same spirit, and under the same error ; for Mr. Planché, the Senior Honorary Secretary, to whom the Requisition should have been transmitted, was not even made acquainted with it, nor was his name appended to the summons calling the Meeting. Now what were the stated objects of this Meeting ? To elect a President ! most indecorous and most indecent ! Mr. Bernal had not been in his grave for a single month—no intelligence of his decease had been yet communicated to the Council—no condolence had been offered to his family, and yet the Council was to proceed “to the election of a President, in the room of Ralph Bernal, Esq., deceased.” The next object was, “the discussion of business connected with the late Congress at Chepstow.” What this consisted of, or how it was to be carried on in my absence, or until the accounts were made up, I know not. Thirdly, “The appointment of a place for the Congress of the ensuing year.” As this would necessarily depend upon the choice of the President, and as the appointment of the First Officer of the Society is a matter of the greatest moment, it is clear that it could not have been effected by a small attendance of the Council, and it had been referred to the Council at the closing meeting of the Congress.

Up to this moment no dissatisfaction had been expressed ; no one had, at any of the Meetings of the Council, brought forward any subject upon which there existed any ill or unkindly feeling. Sir F. Dwarris, a V.P., Mr. Solly, another V.P., Mr. Planché, the Hon. Sec., Mr. Halliwell, the oldest member of the Association and one of the Council, Mr. Horman-Fisher, Mr. Gould, also members of the Council, were at the Congress ; but to these gentlemen no intimation of dissent was ever com-

municated. It was reserved for Mr. Hugo, Mr. White, and Mr. Whichcord (the two latter professing to attend at my solicitation, and to relieve me of labour under present circumstances), to meet together to determine, as it appears by Mr. Hugo's printed statement, upon a plan for disturbing the perfect harmony which for the last three years had prevailed, and during which time the Society had been gradually increasing in numbers, and giving great satisfaction to the members.

The Special Committee met on the 11th of October, and were engaged in the minutest enquiry into the charges made in Mr. Hugo's letters for four hours and a half. There were nineteen members present, and it was resolved, by eleven votes to one, "That the Charges against the Treasurer, contained in Mr. Hugo's letters, were not substantiated." After such a decision it was expected, as is usual in the society of gentlemen, that Mr. Hugo would bow to the decision of the majority, apologize for his conduct, or retire from his position. He did neither the one nor the other; but presented himself at the next meeting supported by the whole of his requisitionists, was captious in the extreme upon every subject brought forward, heard the decision upon the Caerwent correspondence, and retired, to frustrate the object of the Association, as before detailed. At the next Meeting of Council (Nov. 15), the Report of the gentlemen appointed to examine the Correspondence was made, and a Resolution was moved condemnatory of Mr. Hugo's conduct, in writing to Mr. Lewis and Mr. Morgan, which, after a long discussion, was adjourned to the next meeting, to be held on the 22nd. At this meeting it was renewed, Mr. Gould moving, and Mr. Davis, V.P., seconding, a proposition, "That after full consideration of the Correspondence of Mr. Hugo, and Report of the Committee appointed to report upon the Caerwent Correspondence, it is the opinion of the Council that Mr. Hugo should be required to resign his office of Secretary." Mr. Duesbury then moved, and Mr. White, a member of the Caerwent Committee, who had signed the Report in direct opposition to the proposition of Mr. Duesbury, seconded an amendment, "That this Council is of opinion that, under no circumstances, would permission to

excavate at Caerwent been accorded by the Proprietor to the British Archaeological Association, previous permission having been given to the Caerleon Society for that purpose; and that the whole unpleasant feeling evinced by the Correspondence under consideration [though Mr. Duesbury had never seen a line of it], is attributable to the interference of the Treasurer, in corresponding with the gentlemen of the Caerleon Society without having previously subjected Mr. Morgan's letters [he had then written but one, which was laid before the first Meeting of Council], to the consideration of the Council, who would have directed the Secretaries to answer the same." The constant number of seven voted for this amendment; and some Members of Council having been obliged to quit the Meeting, seven only voted against it. The Chairman, Dr. Lee, V.P., gave his vote against it, and it was lost. The original Resolution shared the same fate, and was also lost. I now moved, and Mr. Syer Cuning seconded, a proposition, "That an Extraordinary General Meeting be called for Wednesday, December 6, at 8 P.M., *precisely*, to take into consideration several matters of importance to the Association." Upon this, Mr. Lott moved, and Mr. Whichcord seconded, an amendment, "That it is not expedient to call any Extraordinary General Meeting of the Association previously to the Annual General Meeting in April next." This was carried by one vote. It remained, therefore, to obtain a Requisition which, according to the Rules of the Association, must be signed by twenty Associates to obtain a General Meeting. In the course of twenty-four hours, thirty names were attached, and the Meeting was held on the 6th of December; and after upwards of three hours discussion, the Rev. Thomas Hugo was **EXPULSED FROM HIS OFFICE**. I received the thanks of the Meeting, and was solicited to accept of the Presidency of the Association, which I respectfully declined. Thus signally defeated, Mr. Hugo's object is now to abuse the Meeting and all connected with it, to denounce the Chairman and those who attended, to reiterate the charges which have thus successively been scouted by the Council and the General Meeting;* and, by the circulation of

* In Mr. Hugo's endeavour to abuse all who attended the general meeting, he has thought proper offensively to allude to some of the earliest and warmest friends of the Association, and among other names, Mr. Pidgeon,

a Printed Form, to persist in their validity, to excite disturbance, and induce the members to resign. The "Form of Resignation," as it is called, is untrue in all its particulars. I have never "set at defiance the Laws of the Association," nor "been the cause of frequent quarrels and dissensions, both between Members of the Association, and between it and other gentlemen, to its continual, incalculable, and irreparable detriment." My position, as Treasurer of the Association, has necessarily compelled me to take part in any dissensions that have occurred, and most of those who are now ranged against me, were acting with me in the disputes alluded to.

This is a distinct and concise narrative of the case; but it has been endeavoured to be mixed up with a variety of particulars by Mr. Hugo in his letters to the *Literary Gazette* which have nothing whatever to do with it, and of which Mr. Hugo is himself not personally cognizant, and he therefore commits a variety of errors. Mr. Hugo was first nominated as an associate in 1850. He, however, neither paid a subscription nor made his appearance for two years, when he came to London, being appointed a curate of St. Botolph, Bishopsgate. Mr. Hugo's zeal and attention now induced me to cultivate his acquaintance, and, Mr. Planché removing from London, I thought him a desirable

our excellent draughtsman, to whom we are indebted for many services of the most liberal character, as being one necessarily under the control of the Treasurer, though it unfortunately happens for Mr. Hugo that that gentleman was not present at the meeting. He mentions others engaged upon the *Journal*, who were, however, attracted not by any application from the Treasurer but by Mr. Hugo's printed circular. To this extraordinary paper must be attributed the large attendance of Associates; and Mr. Hugo acts most wisely in not hazarding the re-consideration of the subject at the general meeting in April, when he would find himself with even fewer supporters than he had on the 6th of December. He prudently retires (see his letter to the *Literary Gazette*, January 13th), having been already *expelled from his office*, and affects to deplore "an unseemly and profitless secular contest" which he has himself provoked, and persisted in and dragged before the public, for his is the grand name which appears to any statement printed in the periodicals; and now that he is defeated finds that "any portion of a life is far too valuable to be so wasted (though he has actively continued this warfare, exhausting his vocabulary of complaint and abuse from the commencement of September last), especially when the object on which it is expended is so little worthy of the sacrifice". His "sacred position", he adds, forbids his prolonging the agitation, but he and his friends are still *canvassing for resignations*, to injure the Association!

person to enlist as an officer in some manner to supply Mr. Planché's place, for Mr. Baily had become secretary, with the express understanding that Mr. Planché was to use the pen, and he, Mr. Baily, the pencil. As, however, Mr. Planché would be some months occasionally in London, it was deemed desirable to retain his services as secretary, the principal duties of which he has never neglected, and correspondence of the greatest importance has been conducted by him. During the time Mr. Hugo has been secretary, he has never offered to make a minute, nor has he ever read a paper but at my solicitation. His only anxiety has appeared to be to see his name in print, and he has given express directions to have all the initials of the societies to which he belongs appended and displayed; lest, as he himself communicated to me, the societies omitted might take it as disrespectful on his part! and to employ the Journal for the publication of his papers, not unmixed with his own extreme high church notions.* My opposition to this object is, I conceive, the real ground of offence to Mr. Hugo, but he has not thought proper to avow it; I must, therefore, state a few particulars which may, perhaps, enable the members to divine the cause of his anger. He attended the Rochester Congress, and, at my suggestion, wrote a paper on Bishop Gundulf. That paper was read, and was of a reasonable length and approved at the meeting. When engaged in printing the account of the Congress, I intimated to him that Mr. Bernal's address occupied 14 pages; Dr. Beattie's on the Castle, 16; Mr. Ashpitel's on the Cathedral, 15; I wished his on Gundulf to follow, and he stated that it would form also about 15 pages; but he desired to revise it as it had been prepared in a great hurry. This I of course deemed desirable, and, in order that the Journal should appear at the proper time, I requested him (as I thought I might trust a clergyman and a scholar) to give his MS. to the printer, and I would direct the proofs to be sent to him. He availed himself

* Mr. Hugo's opinions, discretion, and toleration, may be gathered from his most indecent attack (printed in his paper No. II) upon three gentlemen vastly excelling him in learning, knowledge, and Christian charity. What is to be thought of such a passage as the following, which is also altogether untrue? "Three other individuals (Mr. W. Wansey, Mr. W. H. Black, and Mr. B. Mardon), who were among the most violent at the meeting, and who had been known for a long time to bear a grudge against me, on account of my expressed detestation of their pseudo-religious and political opinions."

of this opportunity, and extended his paper to the enormous quantity of 40 pages, loading it with translations from accessible sources, and detailing a copious variety of beatific visions, raptures, and mortifications of the saintly Gundulf, which brought upon me the complaints of several members. In addition to the inordinate extent to which the paper was carried, Mr. Hugo also inflicted upon the Journal one of his amateur etchings, without intimating to me his intention, and thus causing two Plates 29 to appear in the 9th volume of the Journal. That etching is altogether so wretched as to deface the work, of which every member may readily be convinced. Mr. Hugo offered to pay the expense of the printing of it; but, as in other instances, (three unnecessary plates, without my knowledge, of the Haydon-square sarcophagus), that payment was never made, nay even refused, as he himself sent the bill delivered in from the printer to me to discharge. Mr. Hugo, however, stopped not here, for he had printed off from the type of the Gundulf paper upwards of 100 copies for his own use, to which he affixed a title, and on the back stated the essay to be a *reprint* of what had appeared in the Journal. It is not a *reprint*—it consists of impressions from the same type which was set up for the Journal. Remonstrating with Mr. Hugo concerning this paper, I received the impertinent reply that if 54 pages could be given to a pack of cards, he thought 40 might be allowed to Gundulf; not considering that the pack of cards was *unique* and historically important, and that they embraced the consideration of 52 distinct subjects, and the paper divided into two numbers of the Journal. Among the loudest to complain of the Gundulf paper was his now active supporter Mr. White, who even went so far as to ask whether Mr. Hugo intended to give an account of the bishop's amours! I might easily have created a disturbance on this occasion, but, desirous of peace, I simply determined that Mr. Hugo should not print any thing else in the Journal without its passing through my hands as editor, and, therefore, being responsible for its contents. Mr. Hugo's papers on Sir Thomas Crosby and on Tintern Abbey have consequently not appeared, for they have never been sent to me, though repeatedly applied for. Expressions in the former gave offence to some of the members, and, after the reading of the latter at Tintern, it will be recollected

Mr. Pease, our associate, publicly stated his objections, on which occasion I stepped in to Mr. Hugo's rescue, and prevented any unpleasant discussion.

Had Mr. Hugo been desirous of doing the work of his office, he has had abundant opportunities offered him; but he has never availed himself of them, and, never, until this moment, made any complaint of being obstructed in the performance of them. At the audit of 1852, when the debt of the society (from a wholesome practice I have observed of discharging the entire debts of each year, so that no liabilities shall remain, and no member incur any responsibility) amounted to £145 14s. 6d., Mr. Hugo, then (April 13, 1853) elected a secretary, expressed his determination that such should not continue, and he received offers from Mr. Fisher, Mr. Planché, Mr. Wansey, Mr. Gould, Mr. Lawrence, and others, of their desire to contribute to the liquidation of my debt. From that time, however, he did nothing towards this object. The auditors of 1853, therefore, very properly took up the subject, intimated their opinion as to the too extensive illustration and expense of the Journal, which had been most pertinaciously insisted upon and urged by Mr. Hugo, but which opinion he was under the necessity of recanting at the general meeting in April 1854, and at which a donation fund was established, and Mr. Hugo wrote his name down for £5. This, however, has never been paid, nor has he collected a single sovereign to aid the subscription. I should not have alluded to these pecuniary matters, but as necessary to show that Mr. Hugo, now so full of all sorts of complaints, and so suddenly anxious to perform his duties, has hitherto, in the most essential matters, grossly neglected them; and, if I were to pursue the subject, I could adduce a variety of other particulars illustrative of the same.

The conduct of the other members, who have subscribed their names to the opposition, is equally open to censure. Mr. Charles Baily, also a secretary, (standing as such at this present moment, and advertising for resignations on the part of the members of the society) has been the most negligent of negligent officers. His offers to aid the society with his pencil have been attended with the greatest inconvenience. The Journal has been repeatedly retarded by him. Not unnecessarily to extend this address,

I will only name his papers on the Crypt beneath Bow Church, and on ancient houses in Kent, which have never been produced though repeatedly promised, and simply mention the case of Mr. White's paper on the Crypt of Gerard's Hall. This paper was delivered at an important city meeting, held at the Guild-hall, over which I presided, October 17, 1851. Mr. Baily undertook to make certain illustrations for this paper, he took sketches and made measurements in the crypt. I had no little difficulty in the first place in obtaining the paper from Mr. White, and it was not until the month of July, 1853, that it appeared in the Journal, and was then produced deficient of three plates of illustrations, which were all that were to be executed by Mr. Baily, and which were obliged to be promised for the Journal of October. This month, however, arrived, and the illustrations were still unprepared, although I had sent Mr. Baily the blocks on which his drawings were to be made. Another apology had to be offered, and it was not until January 1854, the last number in which they could be given to be included in the volume, that they did come forth. They were promised over and over again—they caused me to write at least twenty letters, and even to get his friends, Mr. White and Mr. Hugo, to apply to him, which they did, and they declared to me that they could do nothing with him. The illustrations were obtained at length, and so late that I was under the necessity of hurrying their execution, and employing additional engravers to work night and day to accomplish the work, and get the Journal out at its proper time. This is the gentleman who now complains of other persons doing his duty!

Mr. White, the writer of the paper on Gerard's Hall, is one who holds the combined offices of registrar, curator, and librarian. His diligence appears almost as advantageously as that of his friend Mr. Baily. Five years since, upon his election to these offices, I handed over to him all the drawings, engravings, &c., with proper portfolios and books prepared for their arrangement. What has been done? Mr. White removed from Islington to West Drayton, and there they are, inaccessible to the members, and I doubt not pretty much in the state in which they were delivered to him. This, however, was part of his duty as curator. He promised to look over the collection of wood-

blocks belonging to the society, but it has not been done. At the extraordinary general meeting I produced the book of proceedings which I had prepared for him as registrar, and to commence which I gave him all the particulars of the annual general meeting of 1850. In this book there are entries for the remainder of the year; but, since that time, not a single line has he written. The only account of the proceedings is that drawn up by me and inserted in the *Journals*, and furnished also by me to the *Athenæum*, the *Literary Gazette* and the *Gentleman's Magazine*, a duty which should have been performed either by the registrar or the secretaries, and which I have repeatedly mentioned to the council, but obtained no help.

Mr. Duesbury is another gentleman who has been no less lax in the performance of his promises. He engaged to write a paper on Newark Castle for the Newark Congress, presided over by his grace the duke of Newcastle, in 1852. When the meeting assembled, Mr. D. was not in attendance, nor was his paper forthcoming, and it has never appeared. Mr. D. undertook Rochester Castle, and there he did attend. He was therefore allowed Chepstow Castle, which Dr. Beattie had desired to undertake, but Mr. D. stipulated with me to have both the historical and architectural parts of the subject at his command, and it was agreed to; but Mr. D. did not attend the Congress, nor send any excuse, nor his paper, and I do not believe that a single word of it has ever been composed. Are these then, I ask, the gentlemen to whom the association will entrust their interests? And, further, are these persons justified in complaining of the exertions of others? I could fill a pamphlet with like circumstances, if I were disposed, but I shall do no such thing. I have ever exerted myself to carry out the purposes of the association, without favour or preference to any one. I have earnestly sought for communications of value and interest, and I have obtained them. I have increased the number of the associates beyond that of any other member. I have caused the *Journal* to be enlarged in size and improved in illustration, and the proceedings to be duly recorded and published with a regularity surpassing that of any other society. During the time I have been editor of the *Journal* I have saved the associa-

tion between *two and three hundred pounds*. Among those to praise the Journal hitherto most loudly, and even to ask for copies from me to put before friends as an inducement to become subscribers to the association, is Mr. Hugo. He has constantly eulogized it as "capital," as "excellent," as "certain to obtain members;" but now he has the impertinence to charge me with "editorial incompetency." I leave the decision of this point to the association at large.

There are other charges brought against me, which, although disproved to the Council and to the public meeting, are still put forth by Mr. Hugo as if established, and which, therefore, I will not allow to pass unnoticed. The most prominent, and which seems, in Mr. Hugo's opinion, to be of the most grave character, is what he calls *opening* and *ignoring* and *answering* letters. It is simply necessary to say that the opening of letters has been those of ordinary circulars applying for the business of the Association in lithography, printing, binding, etc.; applications for lists of members, means of joining the Association, lists of officers, etc.; for Court Guides, Red Books, etc.,—addressed generally to the Association, or to the Secretaries of the Association, or, more commonly, to myself, and left at the Society's apartments adjoining my residence, and daily delivered in to me. Two letters of a different description (the only two not addressed to Mr. Hugo at his private address) have been adduced, and need a specific explanation. One was from Mr. Freeman, who had offered his services for the late Congress, and was in answer to a letter directed by the Council to be written by Mr. Hugo to that gentleman, to obtain the precise terms of that which he would do, that it might be printed in the programme of the Congress. Mr. Hugo was away from town, and had no fixed place to which his letters were to be addressed. The printing of the programme was in my hands. Mr. Freeman, unacquainted with Mr. Hugo's private residence, forwarded his reply to my care on the 25th of July. I opened this, Mr. Hugo being in the country, and wrote to Mr. Freeman to that effect, and also sent the letter to Mr. Hugo's residence, that he might receive it upon his return to London. It must, however, be told that I have a letter from Mr. Hugo, of the date of the 22nd July (three days previous to that of Mr.

Freeman), dated from Preston, in which is written,—“ Your letter has been forwarded to me, and I have written to Mr. Freeman; you need not, I conceive, wait for his answer, as in the letter which I gave you he states his willingness to assist us in any way he can.” Now, I ask, can anything be more ridiculous, trumpery, or untrue, than converting this necessary attention to the Congress into a charge of *ignoring* a letter? It was not a private letter; it was one entirely relating to the Association. Mr. Hugo’s private address is printed on the cover of every number of the *Journal*, and is therefore well known. The other *ignored* letter was an official application from the Somersetshire Archæological Society requesting an interchange of publications. This was laid before the first Council held after its receipt, the request complied with, and it has been gratefully acknowledged. With regard to answering letters,—I plead guilty to being very accurate and regular in this respect, and uniformly, and without a single exception, *in my own name*.

I am really distressed to go into explanations on such ridiculous charges; but I must still allude to one other. I am accused of having occasioned “the virtual expulsion from the Council” of certain individuals; in which I am really in no way, beyond that of the other members of the Council, answerable; and in the printed statement of Mr. Hugo, he is, on this head, as usual, quite away from the truth. He instances Lord Londesborough. It is only necessary to print his Lordship’s letter to Mr. Planché, in acknowledgment of the vote of Council upon his Lordship’s retirement from the Presidency.

“ Dear Mr. Planché,—I beg to return, through you, to the members of the Council of the British Archæological Association, collectively and individually, my sincere thanks for the expressions of personal esteem and good-will which they have conveyed to me through you. May I request that you will assure them that this good-will is mutual, and that I shall always entertain the best feeling towards themselves personally, as well as take a lively interest in the success of the Association.

“ I remain, ever sincerely yours,

“ ALBERT DENISON” (now Lord Londesborough).

“ 90, Pall Mall, 8th Nov. 1849.”

Mr. Fairholt, another member mentioned, withdrew from the Society, demanding his money for illustrations (which was immediately paid from my own pocket, Mr. Fairholt knowing that there were not funds at the time), and stating that he was too much engaged to attend to the Association. Mr. Waller made a demand for plates, which was conceived by the Council excessive. Mr. Smith, although holding the office of Secretary, would neither attend the meetings of the Council, nor the Society, nor the Congress, and once only, during a whole year, was present at a Council, and then for a specific purpose; and communicated his withdrawal through the collector! Mr. W. Ayrton and Mr. Brooke, named by Mr. Hugo, never were associates of the Society! Mr. Fitch, I believe, never attended but one Congress (the first); of Mr. Ll. Jewitt, it is only necessary to say that he is at this time furnishing illustrations to the *Journal*, and has, during the present week, presented engravings of antiquities for the portfolio of the Association.* These are the cases of "virtual expulsion" brought forward by Mr. Hugo as being among those of "our ablest and best antiquaries", who are stated to have retired from "no other cause than the interference and undue assumption of power by the very same individual against whom we have lately had once more to contend."

Of such validity are the accusations of Mr. Hugo. I will waste no more time upon him. I shall not answer any further statements, for there is great absence of truthfulness in him. His object is evident. There has existed, on the part of certain members, a desire to obtain the management of the Society, and to convert the *Journal* to particular purposes. There is a combination formed with some who have retired, to effect this, by worrying me into a retirement; and Meetings have been held to form another Society, and have failed. Had I consulted my own feelings, I should long since have withdrawn from the official position I hold. I have laboured to get the Association into a state in which I could do this—it is now frustrated by

* Mr. Jewitt has since written to me to say that he was not a little surprised at finding his name inserted in Mr. Hugo's paper, and that he never gave any authority for it. I doubt not this is the case with all, or nearly all, the other names printed, as Mr. Hugo is not *personally* acquainted with many of them.

the late proceedings ; but if there be one independent Member who considers that I have not, in every thing, been actuated by a sincere desire to advance the Society, and carry out effectually its objects, without any personal object to gratify or serve, I am ready, as I expressed to the General Meeting, immediately to withdraw. I am, however, willing to labour for the Association in the pursuit of those studies in which I have evinced so great an interest, as long as I possess the confidence and goodwill of the Members, and after the votes passed at the Extraordinary General Meeting, which I herewith subjoin, and referring the Members to the account of the General Meeting, printed in the forthcoming *Journal*, for January 31st, and the Remarks of the Council accompanying the same, and calling earnestly upon all who feel an interest in Archæology, to step forward and render their active co-operation, and increase the number of our Associates, I take my leave, assuring the Members of the respect and attachment with which

I have the honor to be
 Their most faithful and obedient Servant,
 T. J. PETTIGREW,
V. P. and Treasurer.

Onslow Crescent, Brompton,
 Jan. 15, 1855.

Resolutions passed *nem. con.* at the Extraordinary General Meeting, Dec. 6, 1854 :—

“ That this meeting, having considered the statements and documents laid before it, is of opinion that the Rev. Thomas Hugo, by bringing forward unfounded accusations against the Treasurer, and by subsequently writing letters which, whether

public or private, were calculated to injure the interests and impede the action of the Association, by subverting the authority of the council and rendering nugatory the proceedings of its committee, has shown a want of temper and discretion which unfits him for the office of Secretary of the Association; and therefore this meeting is under the necessity of removing Mr. Hugo from that office, and abolishing the third secretaryship."

"That the zealous and most efficient services of Mr. Pettigrew as the Treasurer and senior Vice-President, which have been repeatedly acknowledged by this Association, still entitle him to the warmest thanks of all its members; and that this meeting, deeply regretting the unfounded charges by which he has been assailed, doth hereby tender to Mr. Pettigrew the most earnest pledge of sincere confidence and attachment, by requesting him to accept the office of PRESIDENT of this Association (now vacant through the lamented death of Ralph Bernal, Esq.) for the remainder of the official year."



10/23 1/2 p.m.

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